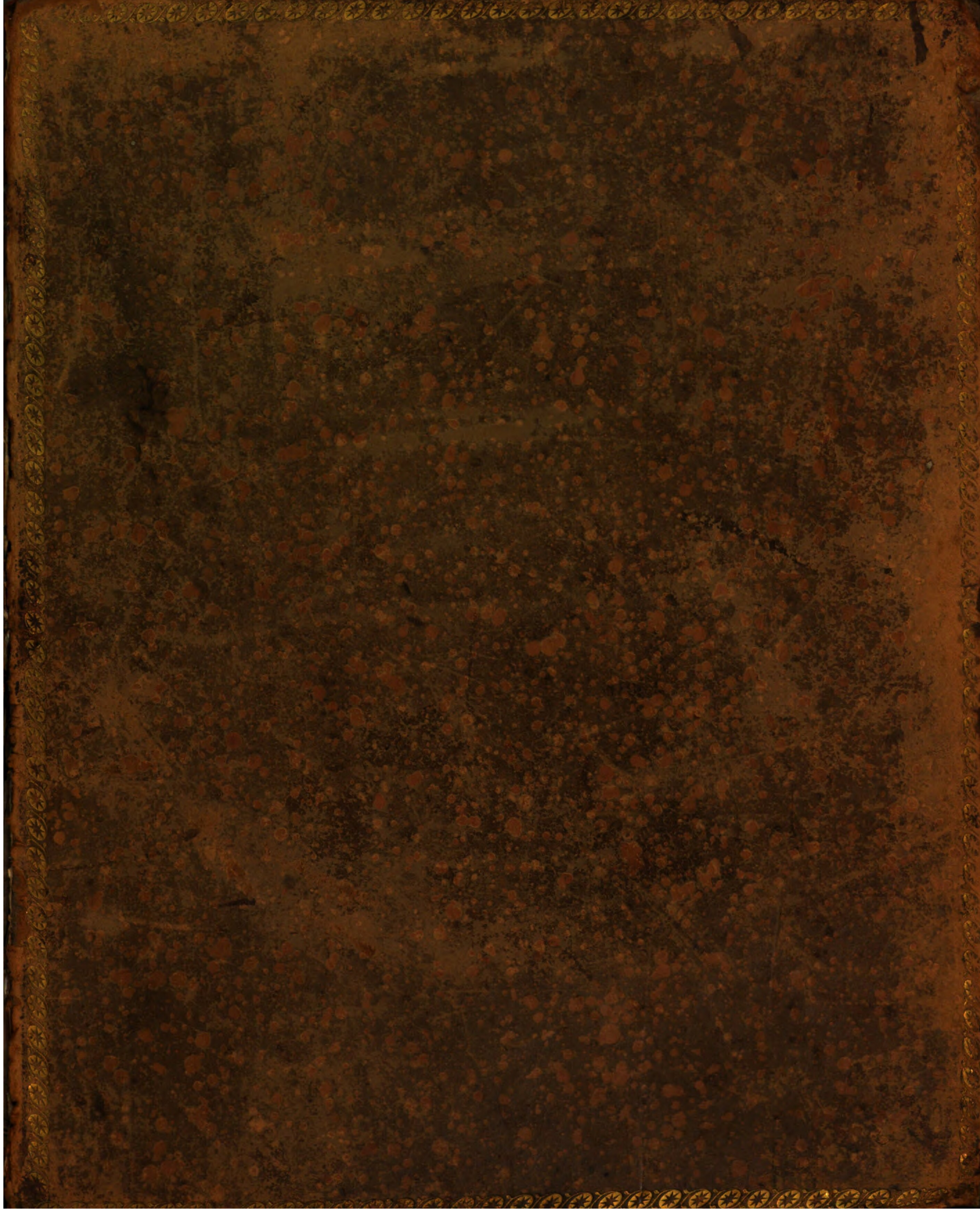








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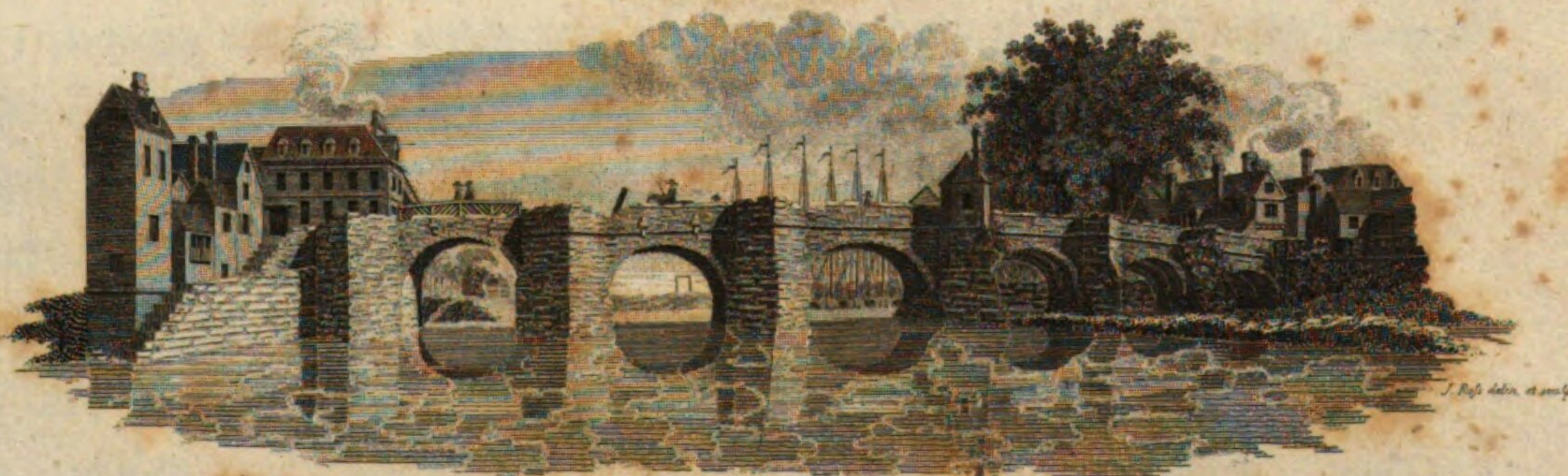


THE
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OF THE
CITY AND SUBURBS
OF
WORCESTER.

VOL. I.

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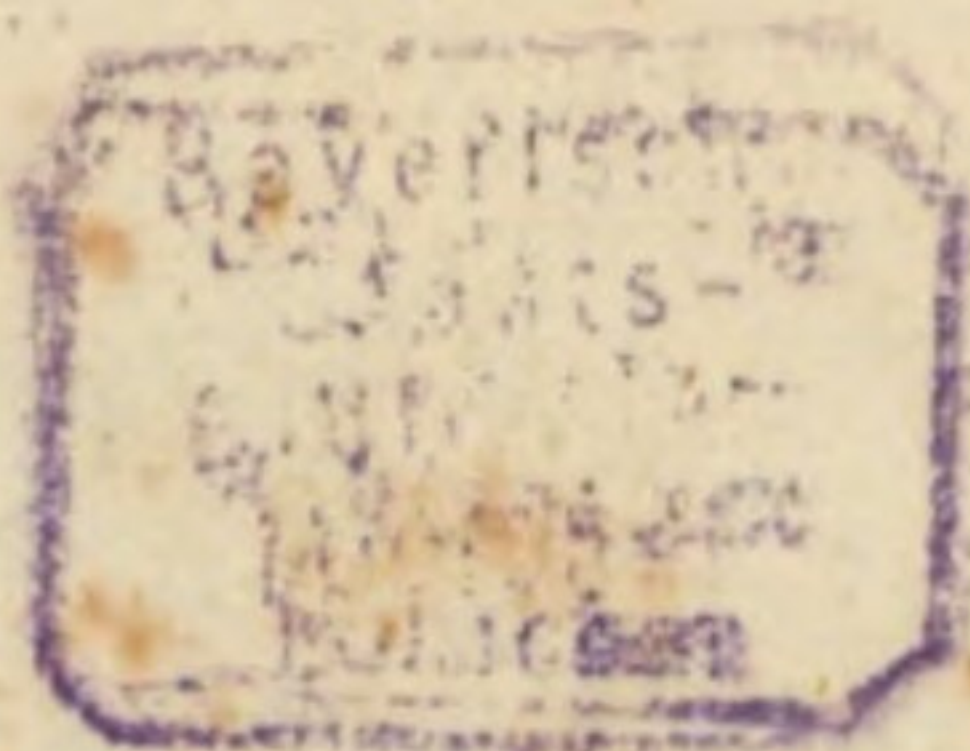
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TO

THE KING.

SIRE,

Modern WORCESTER having had the distinguished honour of being known to your MAJESTY, that portion of its history, in the following Work, which treats of its present state, is so far anticipated in its purposes of information, that, in respect to your MAJESTY, it can only endeavour to discharge the humble duty of a mere reflecting mirror, producing objects already more correctly viewed, and better known, than by any representation it can pretend to offer.

Ancient WORCESTER, remarkable and important in its history, both ecclesiastical and civil, presents a feature in the national character of past ages not unworthy of minute contemplation: and the tracing of the steps by which a military station was improved into a metropolis, the feudal seat of a Saxon viceroy transformed into that of arts and opulence, will not, it is presumed, be found destitute of sufficient interest to merit attention.

Its church, from the earliest times, has been one of the most renowned for its sanctity and discipline; its prelates revered for the extent of their learning and the eminency of their virtues; its magistrates and citizens honoured for their probity and loyalty, and not less so for their upright administration of justice, and prompt obedience to the laws: zealous to dignify, by exemplary conduct, the character they respectively sustained, each has mutually assisted in elevating the name of their city to the most distinguished height of moral pre-eminence. Thus guided and guarded, by the firmest friends to its peace and its prosperity, WORCESTER has become a complete illustration of the substantial good which results from a steady adherence to the principles

DEDICATION.

of orderly government, supported by our glorious constitution ; under the benign auspices of which, rational liberty and social harmony, have not only been permanently secured to WORCESTER, but to all the classes of a brave, a generous, and a free people, who have the happiness to share in the mild influences of your MAJESTY's beneficent reign.

Such, SIRE, is the object most graciously permitted me to lay at your MAJESTY's feet. With talents less feeble, it would have been made more worthy of that honourable distinction ; with none could it have been prepared with a more ardent desire that it might become so : nor could it have occupied a mind capable of being more sensibly impressed with gratitude for the signal condescension, than that of

SIRE,

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most devoted,

most dutiful,

and faithful subject

and servant,

London,
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ERRATA.

VOL. I.

Page 38, note (1) for *Preface*, read *Appendix*.

Page 52, at the end of the last sentence in the second paragraph, dele the word *already*; and for *Preface*, read *Appendix*.

For page 721, read 127.

Page 74, for *William* read *Wulstan de Braunsford*.

VOL. II.

Page 31, the second article in the notes should have begun thus: "According to Domesday Book," &c.

Page 108, in the list of the Saxon coins, after "No. 1. Æthelstan," the following part of the inscription has been omitted: "Rex To. Br. + Mondien Mon. Veri."

Page 111, in the fifth text line from the bottom, after the word "nations," add, *of which*; and at the end of that paragraph insert, *is here given*.

APPENDIX.

Page xxiv, for Sect. *VI*. read Sect. *VII*.

Page cxxv, cxxvi, cxxvii, cxxviii. for Sect. *XIX*. read Sect. *IV*.

Page cxxxviii, in the running title, dele *XIX*. and insert *VI*.; and in the succeeding pages to p. cliv. after the word *Addenda*, insert *Sect. VI*.

PREFACE.

THE original "Survey of the City of Worcester," published in an octavo volume, with plates, in 1764, compiled during my residence there, forms the groundwork of "the History and Antiquities of the City and Suburbs of Worcester," contained in the following sheets. That publication was first intended as a mere abstract of its history, which had not before been attempted, to be united with that of its church, which had been drawn up and published by the Rev. Wm. Thomas, D. D. in 1736. But on a revisal of my manuscript by my late learned friend, the Rev. Mr. Garbet, he suggested to me an extension of my plan; and, in confirmation of his favourable opinion of the progress I had made in it, furnished me with the two first sections of it, and which, with very slight variations, now form the same portions of the present work, under the titles of "Worcester under the Romans and Saxons;" the notes and illustrations which accompany them, are now first added. The accounts of the ancient castle, and of the Bishops of Worcester, from the Reformation to the year 1759, were assistances he also gave to the subject: to have the hand of one so able to lay the corner-stone of its foundation, was a distinction highly flattering to a juvenile attempt, in a department of literature not frequently essayed by youth. (1)

From those instances of his abilities (the only ones ever printed) it will readily be conceived the loss this undertaking sustains in being deprived of his further aid, and depending only on the vigilance I have myself been able to bestow upon it.

Collections for the history of the county, and much of what relates to the city of Worcester, were first made by Thomas Abingdon, Esq.

(1) See Mr. Gough's *British Topography*, vol. II. p. 388, 389. ed. 2. 1780; and Dr. Nash's *Worcestershire*, vol. II. p. 25. See also vol. II. Sect. XXI. p. 104, 105, of this work.

between the years 1605 and 1647; an employment that occupied his leisure hours for near forty years. (1) Those collections, transcribed and augmented by his son, were strongly recommended by Bishop Nicholson, in his Historical Library, to the revisal of Doctor William Hopkins, a prebendary of the church of Worcester, whose intimate knowledge of the subject, and extensive learning, peculiarly qualified him to undertake their publication. The task, however, was not entered upon; and the papers soon afterwards luckily fell into the hands of Dr. Thomas, who, with an intention of giving them to the public, made many valuable additions to them from the registers he examined and transcribed, and from the remarks he made in his general visit to every church in the county; a labour he actually performed, for the purpose of publishing them, but which his death prevented.

The collection thus augmented, was purchased by the late Dr. Charles Lyttelton, Bishop of Carlisle, who also added many papers to them from the old Chapter-house, Westminster, the Tower Records, and other public offices. On the death of his lordship, in 1768, he bequeathed the whole to the Society of Antiquaries, London, of which he was president. In 1774, those papers were confided to the Rev. Treadway Nash, D. D.; who, in 1782, having completed the arduous task of their revisal, and arrangement, published them with great additions and improvements, and with a splendid embellishment of plates, in two large volumes, folio, under the title of "*Collections for the History of Worcestershire.*"

The Society of Antiquaries were afterwards pleased also to permit me to consult that collection of papers, and to make such extracts from them respecting the History of the City of Worcester, as might be found useful to the present work: in that research, however, I soon discovered that the industry of their learned editor had completely anticipated, in the above mentioned publication, every article of information that could have benefited me by the adoption. It is, therefore, necessary here to premise, that many of those articles relative to the city of Worcester, derived from the collection for the

(1) See Sect. XX. vol. II. p. 101.

history of the county, and on which account Dr. Nash's work is often quoted, are principally such as are contained in Mr. Abingdon's manuscripts, unless where otherwise denoted to have been taken from the additions by the editor. The use Dr. Nash has obligingly permitted me, of those parts of his own account of the city, in addition to the former collections, has enabled me to affix points of reference to authorities he has therein rendered easy and accessible, which otherwise must have been sought for in a labyrinth of voluminous papers, in which they could not have been traced but with extreme difficulty. It is here farther incumbent upon me to state, that Dr. Nash, previously knowing from me my intention to resume the subject of the "Survey of Worcester," has touched but slightly upon it, although it was indispensably necessary that that article should form a part of his work, and for which he was, doubtlessly, prepared. Concessions thus liberal and candid, merit the amplest acknowledgment and thanks.

In the archives of the Dean and Chapter of Worcester, many papers that relate to the ancient family possessions in the county, and in which are dispersed much matter of local information, remain still unexplored. Those, however, being generally foreign to the present subject, attention hath herein only been directed to what was found precisely to relate to its plan, and several curious articles have been obtained from that source.

The church of Worcester is already remarked to have been more fortunate than most others in preserving its charters and other instruments, relating to its state under the government of our Saxon kings; in which period it was considered one of the most flourishing in theis land. Heming's Chartulary, Sir William Dugdale, Dr. Hickes, and Dr. Thomas, have preserved more of those ancient documents than almost any other church can produce. To those authorities, therefore, the curious are referred for further information respecting its original endowment.

From the archives of the Corporation many articles have also been derived, useful to the more readily deducing from the ancient administration of the civil government of the city, the origin of its present form. But not to

impede the course of the history with any of those records already published, and to be found in other authors, such as were absolutely indispensable, together with unpublished papers of that description, will be found arranged in the Appendix.

Information derived from official channels may be received with confidence. To decide upon the veracity of articles not clearly traceable to an authentic origin, forms the most irksome part of a compiler's duty ; posted between fact and fiction, to establish the first, and to prevent the approaches of the last, in the various disguises it puts on, is a service of real difficulty ; and from thence it arises, that after all the labours of elucidation, a degree of darkness will still be attendant on antiquity. On the present subject, all practicable means have been resorted to with a view to stamp the character of truth upon every representation offered to the notice of my readers, as well in the ancient as in the modern history of Worcester. And I trust it will operate to their satisfaction, when they are told, that in every instance of appeal for information respecting its early accounts, which has been made to those public and official sources from whence alone they can be gathered, full and complete returns have always been rendered, founded on evidence indisputably valid and authentic. Actual and careful view constitutes the basis on which the representation of the present state of Worcester is raised.

Besides the stores of supply already noticed, other public depositories possessing materials for this work have also been visited ; but none with more success and attention, than that national ornament the British Museum ; from whence many interesting and curious particulars, transcribed from the original papers in that inexhaustible collection, have been obtained. To these I have yet to add the mention of a variety of other channels of useful and valuable information, which have been most readily and obligingly laid open to me, and for which I beg leave to offer my most respectful and grateful thanks to the following gentlemen ; namely, the Rev. Dr. Evans, Archdeacon, and the Rev. Mr. Baty, Chancellor, of the diocese of Worcester ; Richard Clarke, Esq. chapter-clerk, and steward to the dean and chapter ;

the Rev. Mr. John Griffin, head master of the King's school ; Sir Charles Trubshaw Withers, Knt. ; St. Andrew St. John, Esq. ; Dr. Johnstone ; Joseph Berwick, Esq. ; John Leonard Knapp, Esq. ; Richard Ingram, Esq. ; Thomas Carden, Esq. ; Humphrey Lyttelton, Esq. deputy town-clerk ; Mr. F. P. Palmer ; Mr. Thomas Pitt ; Mr. E. Goodere ; Mr. Tymbs ; Mr. Sheriff ; and Mr. James Ross ; Worcester. The Rev. Dr. Routh, president of Magdalen college, Oxford ; Dr. Martin Wall, Oxford ; Samuel Tyssen, Esq. Norfolk ; Edmund Turnor, Esq. Lincolnshire ; Dr. Charles Combe ; Dr. John Millar ; Craven Ord, Esq. ; Joseph Planta, Esq. secretary of the Royal Society ; the Rev. Mr. Brand, and the Rev. Mr. Wrighte, secretaries of the Society of Antiquaries ; the Rev. Mr. Ayscough, and the Rev. Mr. Penneck, of the British Museum, London.

The present work hath farther been eminently honoured, as to its embellishments, by the masterly engravings which have been presented to it. It would be a gross affectation of humility, did I not appreciate this munificent patronage at its true value, in considering it as a public adoption of the subject, and as a distinction of which I may be justly proud, should the discharge of my duty be found at all commensurate to a support the more flattering, inasmuch as it hath been given wholly unsolicited and unexpected. It is at this point, however, that I become most feelingly alive to its defects, lest their nature and number should be such as to prove that countenance to have been given *undeserved*.

Impressed with the profoundest gratitude, I embrace the present as the most suitable medium of returning my humble thanks to the following

BENEFACTORS OF ENGRAVINGS TO THIS WORK.

The Right Rev. Richard, Lord Bishop of
Worcester - - -

SUBJECTS.

View of Worcester Palace.

The Honourable and Reverend the Dean, and
the Reverend the Chapter of Worcester

View of the Cathedral.

SUBJECTS.

The Honourable and Reverend Dr. St. Andrew St. John, Dean of Worcester	-	<i>View of Prince Arthur's Chapel.</i>
The Honourable and Right Reverend, James Lord Bishop of Ely	- -	<i>Bishop Maddox's Monument.</i>
The Right. Honourable David Rae, of Esk- grove, a Lord of the Session, &c. Scotland		<i>Mrs. Rae's Monument.</i>
Mrs. Sarah Johnson, sister of the late Bishop Johnson	- - -	<i>Bishop Johnson's Monument.</i>
The Reverend Dr. Evans, Archdeacon of Wor- cester	- - -	<i>Internal View of Prince Ar- thur's Chapel, Nov. 1788.</i> <i>Ditto in its present state.</i>
St. Andrew St. John, Esq.	-	<i>Internal View of the Cathedral.</i>
Richard Clarke, Esq.	- -	<i>Ditto of the Chapter-house.</i>
Sir Charles Trubshaw Withers, Knt.		<i>Monument of T. Withers, Esq.</i> <i>and View of Sansom-fields.</i>
Joseph Berwick, Esq.	- -	<i>Seals and Coins.</i>
Messrs. Joseph Flight, and Matthew Barr, proprietors	- - -	<i>View of the Royal China Ma- nufactory. (1)</i>
The Right Worshipful Thomas Carden, Esq. Mayor, 1790 ; (2) the Aldermen, and the		

(1) I must express my regret that the arrangement of the engravings of the churches, having been carried into execution before the accounts of them had been written, they are thence not precisely placed in the order they occur in the parochial part of their history, which takes them up in a direct course of succession from the south to the north extremities of the city. The house of industry having been built after the plate was engraved, on which the infirmary and audit-hall are represented, the advantage was thereby lost, not only of having the two modern structures, devoted to charitable purposes, produced on the same plate, but also the two ancient edifices of Edgar's tower and the audit-hall, appendages to the cathedral, being given in the same order of conjunction.

(2) As the order of the chamber of Worcester for presenting those plates to the work, was made in the mayoralty of that gentleman, it is conceived most respectful to address that plate to the then presiding magistrate, and the other to the chief magistrate presiding at the date of its publication ; a measure, it is hoped, that will not give umbrage in having been adopted.

SUBJECTS.

rest of the Members of the Corporation of the city of Worcester	- -	<i>View of the Guildball.</i>
The Right Worshipful Thomas Williams, Esq. Mayor, 1796 ; the Rt. Hon. George, Earl of Coventry, Recorder ; the Alder- men, the Common-council, and the rest of the Members of the Corporation of the city of Worcester	- -	<i>Plan of the City.</i>
L. F. Abbott, Esq. the Painting ; and Mr. James Fittler, Engraver to his Majesty,		<i>Portrait of the Author.</i>
Mr. James Ross,	- -	<i>Title Page and Vignette. (1)</i>

In the history of the fabric of the cathedral, given in Section IV. it will be perceived, that entire new ground has been taken respecting the order and progress of its erection. Indeed one of the principal reasons which induced me not to abandon the revisal of this subject, but at some favourable conjuncture to endeavour to render it more correct, was the dissatisfaction I had continually felt on every recollection of that part of the first edition, which treats of the building of the church ; and more especially from seeing so many of its errors adopted into other publications. And I was the

(1) The professional liberality of the three last-named gentlemen, have a peculiar claim to my thankful acknowledgments : but to Mr. James Ross, of Worcester, whose sterling abilities as an artist, are only equalled by his unaffected modesty ; and by whose talents it will be found this work is enriched in a manner highly honourable to his reputation, much more is owing than is *expressed on the title-page*. By his persevering and friendly attention to a variety of objects on which much of his time, and more of his patience, hath been exercised, than any thing less than his attachment to the subject could have exacted, my progress hath been much facilitated to the end of a labour difficult enough in every other point of view, but rendered still more so on many occasions by my distance from the objects of investigation ; which, notwithstanding my having thrice visited Worcester, for the sole purpose of completing my inquiries respecting them, still required frequent recurrence to, and careful re-examination of ;—services he has never ceased to render with equal promptitude and accuracy.

more confirmed in that resolution by the observations Dr. Lyttelton, late Bishop of Carlisle, had made on the subject, in his letter to Smarte Lethieulier, Esq. (1) and which his lordship was pleased to recommend to my attention, when I should undertake a future edition. The performance of this duty, which I considered as an injunction, I have herein endeavoured to discharge with all the diligence and attention it was within the compass of my ability to bestow upon the subject; in which, however, it will be found, I have widely deviated from many of the most material points his lordship had examined and discussed.

Attention hath also been paid to the internal order and arrangement of our ancient churches, few of which were under stricter discipline, better provided, or more respectable than that of Worcester. The accounts of its ancient offices, and of its monuments, have also been reduced to a regularity of representation, that has removed much of the obscurity that heretofore pervaded them, by the immethodical and erroneous statements of former compilers.

The learning of a new lesson may, indeed, be found irksome to those officers of the church, who for a length of time past may have been in the habit of detailing the traditional errors of its former history, and with whose ill-informed predecessors, I am persuaded, originated, among many others, the marvellous account I myself forty years ago heard a grave sexton retail, whilst he was shewing the tomb of King John.—“How that king had been poisoned by two monks, who had administered it to him in vessels like those they held in their hands, (which are censers;) that to avoid detection and punishment, they swallowed poison themselves; and that the effects of the destructive draughts first appeared upon the backs of their own and the king’s hands;” the marks of which (where the jewels on the gloves of the king, and of the two bishops, Oswald and Wulstan, had been set,) (2) he did not fail to point out to his wondering auditory, in solemn confirmation of

(1) See Appendix, p. cxli. No. XLI.

(2) See Sect. VII. p. 153. Art. 25. vol. I.

his narrative. This tale, and the equally absurd one of the Countess of Salisbury and her garter, (1) has not, however, been repeated there for some years since. Nor can there be a doubt, from a moral regard to truth, and a reverence of the place in which they are frequently called upon to render verbal accounts of various objects, and portions of the church, that the present officers will endeavour to supply the place of exploded fiction, by reports on which strangers who visit the cathedral may more safely depend, and by which its history, sufficiently abounding with real curiosity, may become better understood.

The additions made to the history of the city, both ancient and modern, are numerous and extensive; but to be fully informed of either, the Appendix, which is of considerable magnitude, must not be overlooked. The reader may form some idea of the necessity of adding to its modern history, and of the active exertions of the guardians of the interest and honour of Worcester, when he is told, that not one of the important additions and improvements mentioned in the subjoined note existed, or had taken place, when the first edition of this work appeared in 1764, (2) all of which are fully completed.

In the general course and progress of this work, many parts of the history of Worcester which no antiquary's torch had yet illumined, are brought to view; it is presumed, that the inhabitant of that city, if he has not made antiquities his study, may find in it observations that are new to

(1) A story I was sorry to see retained in a very late publication, in other respects replete with entertaining anecdote.

(2) The infirmary begun in 1767; St. Martin's church, 1768; the bridge, 1771, with the new streets, quays, roads, and avenues.—The city water-works, 1772; the theatre, 1779; the old bridge taken down, 1781; the city new paved and lighted, 1783; the castle reformed and repaired, 1784; the city gaol repaired and enlarged, 1789; the new council chamber of the Guildhall reformed, 1791; and the house of industry built, 1793: the total expence of which, exclusive of the paving and lighting of the city, of carrying on the work of the new canal between Worcester and Birmingham, and of opening the new approach to the city from the London road, with a variety of lesser items, amounts to upwards of 65,000*l*.

him; discussions that are curious, if not satisfactory; and illustrations not fanciful, though in some instances not demonstrative. And that the stranger, whose curiosity cannot but be excited on his entrance into Worcester, may find no ordinary or inadequate guide to gratify it; but an intelligencer who has laboured to convey to him the exactest information, derived from the most authentic sources, and rendered with a faithfulness on which he may rely, although not dressed in a garb he may admire.



James Ross Delin.

WEST VIEW OF THE CITY
To the Subscribers to this Work
by their most Devoted



London, Published by V. Green



CITY OF WORCESTER.

J. Sparrow Sculp.

*This Plate is most Respectfully Dedicated,
and obliged humble Servant
Valentine Green.*

Green Nov 16: 1795.

THE
HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES
OF THE
CITY AND SUBURBS
OF
WORCESTER.

WORCESTER has a place among the most ancient and eminent cities of England. There are reckoned but five superior to it for extent and populousness. Its situation is very pleasant. The principal part of the city occupies the most elevated ground from the north to the south, arising gradually from the eastern bank of the Severn. Abberley hills are seen towards the north-west; on the east side the view is finely terminated by several beautiful eminences tufted with trees: between the south and west, at the distance of about eight miles, the majestic and venerable piles of Malvern rise; useful in condensing mists in summer, but intercepting too soon in winter the evening sun. This mountain, which befriends its whole neighbourhood, is beneficial to Worcester by its salutary springs. The geographical situation of this city is in the latitude of 52 degrees 18 minutes, and longitude west 2 degrees and 15 minutes. Its remote antiquity has been generally allowed. But this is a point that deserves particular and attentive discussion.

SECT. I.

OF WORCESTER UNDER THE ROMANS.

THE origin of celebrated cities is not less obscure, than the first production of the rivers on which their commerce and splendour depend. And yet the antiquary, as well as the naturalist, will be warm and confident; the one, as if he had traced all the secret syphons that feed the fountain; the other,

as if he had turned up foundation-stones, inscribed with the name of the prince that laid them.

Constantius Cæsar has been assigned for the founder of Worcester, on the credit of John Ross of Warwick, (a writer contemporary with King Edward IV.) who met with this anecdote in an old British chronicle, whose date being unknown, renders its authority dubious. It is uncertain too, which Constantius is meant; whether the son of Constantine the Great, Fl. Jul. Constantius, who died A. D. 361, who, as Ninnius pretends, built *Caer Segeint* (or *Silchester*), but more probably never was in this island; or Constantius Chlorus, the father of Constantine, who was declared Emperor, upon the resignation of Dioclesian and Maximilian, with the title of Cæsar. (1) We may allow that *Britannia Romana* owed many of its public works and ornaments to this prince: his consort, the Empress Helena, (2) built more churches in the empire, than any nursing mother, imperial or royal, since her time: the public spirit of Constantius drew architects into Britain, whom, to gratify the people of Autun in Gaul, he was content to spare for the rebuilding that ancient city. (3)

There are writers, however, who hesitate whether the rise of Worcester should be ascribed to the Romans or the Saxons, by whom, about A. D. 584, the kingdom of Mercia was founded, which soon reduced all the British settlements on the east of the Severn. They surmise that this, and other places of strength on the eastern bank of that river, might be built and fortified by the Mercian princes, for curbing the independent tribes of Britons on the other side, and repelling their frequent invasions.

But Worcester, whether it owed its origin to the Romans or not, was

(1) While he served here under Aurelian, he married Helena, daughter of Coël, or Cælius, a petty prince of Britain, by whom he had Constantine the Great, born in Britain. * Fl. Valerius Constantius, surnamed Chlorus, was eminent for his virtues, and for his profession of the Christian faith: he resided several years in Britain, "called" as his panegyrist expresses himself, "by Heaven to the extremity of the world," † and dying at York, A. D. 306, the year after his accession to the imperial dignity, he was deified, as appears by his coins. ‡

(2) This is that Helena, who, in ancient inscriptions, is stiled "*Venerabilis et Pientissima Augusta*." Great honour has been done to her memory in this country, by inscribing many of its churches with her name, among which Worcester has an instance in the oldest of its parochial churches. Morant, in his *History of Colchester*, of which town this princess was a native, has much curious information respecting her. (3) Eumenius in *Panegyrico*. VIII.

* Gough's *Camden*, vol. I. p. liv.
Yorkshire, Gough's Ed. vol. III. p. 10.

† Eumenius, *Paneg. ad Constantin.* c. 7.

‡ Camden in

certainly of some note, and possessed by the Britons before the arrival of the Saxons. (1) Gildas, who wrote in the middle of the sixth century, while the Mercian kingdom was not yet in being, speaks of Britain as adorned with twenty-eight cities. Bede, the father of Saxon history, treating of the pristine state of the island, says it was *viginti et octo nobilissimis civitatibus insignita*. (2) Ninnius, an ancient British writer, has preserved the catalogue of them; (3) in which the 14th city is Cair Guorangon; and the 18th, Cair Guricon. In the last name we may plainly discern the Uriconium or Viriconium of the Romans; and may safely follow the old historians, Alfred of Beverly, and Henry of Huntingdon, in admitting Guorangon to be Worcester, (4) which to this day retains that name in the British language. (5)

(1) Bishop Lyttelton, in a note on this text, says, "We have no just idea of British towns prior to the Roman invasion; either, therefore, Worcester was Roman or Saxon."

According to Cæsar, the strong towns or fortified places of the Britons were only thick woods, fenced with a ditch and a rampart; * by these they resisted the best troops under the command of the best officers in the world, and even gained from the greatest of the latter the repeated praise of excellent fortifications. † Their towns, however, were not always scenes of either general or regular residence; they were often only their places of refuge amid the dangers of war, and not unfrequently like the "forest camp or fastness of Cassibeline, misnamed a town." ‡ The natural advantages of rivers, and the commodiousness of their banks, were as well understood by the Britons as by their successors, in as much as regarded their safety and convenience. Worcester, therefore, answering in every circumstance to the principles which were constantly attended to by the Britons in selecting a spot whereon to fix a residence, could not but become one of their favourite cities. Situated on the border of an immense forest, on a knoll, on the margin of a great river, and at a fordable part of it, which must of necessity engage their strictest attention, whether in preventing the inroads of their opposite neighbour, or in availing themselves of opportunities of making incursions in turn upon them, its natural advantages were undoubtedly too apparent and too important to have been lost upon their observation.

It has not been unfrequently the practice of the Romans to unite the works which the Britons had prepared, with whatever mode of their own fortification they might adopt for the defence of those places from whence they had driven them; and as they extended their settlements in the island, they appear to have erected stations for themselves, and cities for the Britons. Many instances are recorded of that practice, and also that it continued to be their custom in their progressive reduction of the island. || And thus Worcester, although it might not have had a Roman station fixed in it, might nevertheless become a very considerable and important British town under their protection and safeguard. These instances of Romanized cities or towns so provided, are not to be confounded with those of which the Britons themselves were the constructors and inhabitants, prior to the Roman invasion.

(2) Bede, Eccles. Hist. l. i. c. 1. (3) Usserii Britann. Eccl. Antiq. p. 33, 34. Ed. 2. (4) *Britannis vel hodie Wigornienses dicuntur Gwyr ehangon, et corrupte Gwranon*. [Baxter, Antiq. Brit. p. 189.]

(5) Worcester, anciently called *Branonium*, which the Welch corrupted in *Wrangon*, prefixing *Caer*, as was their method. It signifies the city *ad frontem aquæ*. [Stukeley's Itin. Cur. p. 64.] *Caer Guorangon—q. d.* a frontier town garrisoned with persons called by the Britons Barangi, or Guarangi, whence

* Cæsar, p. 92. † Morant's Hist. of Colchester, p. 11. Ed. 2. ‡ Ibid. p. 12. || Tacitus Ann. lib. xiv. c. 33, and lib. xii. c. 32. Richard, p. 24. Stukeley's Itin. Curios. p. 195.

Worcester, then, was a city of the ancient Britons. The other question recurs; whether it was Roman too? It was policy in the conquerors of Britain, for securing the obedience of very refractory provincials, to build forts adjacent to all the considerable towns of the Britons, for the reception of Roman garrisons; and to carry on a chain of military roads, through forests impervious before, for the more easy communication between these *Castra Stativa*, or stations. May we venture to suppose a Roman station of this sort at the British *Guorangon*? Let it pass, if the reader pleases, for a mere hypothesis. There are reasons, however, which may incline him to favour it.

I. Because it is not easy to conceive, that under a military government the Severn should be left unprovided of forts, (1) in the long tract of it from *Uriconium* (Wroxeter) to *Glevum* (Gloucester.) Such fortifications might, after a few ages, be lost in a great town, as this, or even in Bridgnorth or Tewkesbury; but elsewhere, on a bank not crowded with buildings, nor loaded with rubbish, (from conflagrations, or other causes) their vestiges might be expected to appear.

II. At Worcester there is an important pass in the line of communication between two unquestionable Roman stations, Alcester and Kenchester, the river here being in most summers fordable, near the college especially; and a fort must have been necessary at the pass, for the reception of troops till they could wade, and for the protection of them in wading through the water when lowest, (as the Severn had no bridges in those days,) as well as for repelling the inroads of the *Silures* and *Ordovices*; the one remarkable for their ferocity, (2) the other for the extent of their territories, in the country west of that river.

the city itself had the name of *Wrangon*, *Gorangus*, *Gerongus*, *Cuorongus*, *custos ostiarius*. According to Camden, *Vortigern* appeared a *Guorong*, or Viceroy over the province of Kent. [Camd. Brit. vol. I. p. 210. Gough's Edit. See also Spelman's Glossar. v. *Baro*, *Barongus*.]

(1) Forts were actually built on this river by the Roman *proprætor* *Ostorius*. *Ille* (*Ostorius*) *detrahare arma suspectis, cinctosque castris Antonam et Sabrinam fluvios cohibere parat*. [Tacit. Ann. l. xii. p. 31.] Dr. Nash in his Preface, p. iv. says, "From this obscure passage some have inferred that the Romans were in possession of Worcestershire; but the country here described was probably near Tewkesbury, in Gloucestershire.—That *cinctos* does not refer to the Britons, and that there is no mention of forts. From this passage he therefore conjectures that the Britons were in possession of Worcestershire, and that *Ostorius* endeavoured to prevent their marching farther than Tewkesbury. [See his "Worcestershire," vol. I.] (2) *Siluras*, *super propriam ferociam, Caractaci viribus confisos*.—*Præcipua Silurum pervicacia*. [Tacit. Annal. l. xii. 33. 39.]

III. The name given to this town by the Saxons, Weogorna Ceastre, implies, that they had found either a Roman camp or fort in this place; the addition of Ceastre or Chester being as sure an indication of a fortress in the Roman form, as that of Berig or Bury is of one in the Celtic or the Gothic. A camp it will be said might have been here, yet no station. Was it then a summer camp? The *castra æstiva* of the Romans were not certainly in low vallies, nor contiguous to towns: but eminences, that afforded extensive prospect, and the advantage of descrying distant motions of an enemy, were the proper situations for these. The camp at Guorangon, it will be replied, was for winter service. Now the point is conceded: for what were stations but quadrangular intrenchments with barracks, disposed at proper distances along the military ways, for the refreshment of the troops in their marches, and for the lodging of them, when they separated for cantonment during the winter?

IV. There are found remains of Roman roads at no very great distance from Worcester, which point towards it, and seem to have intersected each other there. I have heard of one, called the Ridgeway, to the north-east of Droitwich. Take Mr. Salmon's account of the rest. "There is," says he, (1) "a raised way between Worcester and Aulcester, on the edge of the county called the Ridge-way. There is a paved way from Kenchester leading to a passage of the Lug, and so towards Ledbury, pointing to Worcester. (2) There is a way from Worcester (3) pointing towards Wrottesley (in Staffordshire). Another leads by Upton to Gloucester." If this account be true, Worcester was the centre to which several military roads were directed, and at which they crossed each other; the way from Glevum (Gloucester) on the south, to Mancunium (Manchester) in the north; the way from Magnæ (Kenchester) on the west, to Alauna castra (Aulncester) on the east; besides another way, which diverged from the same centre, to

(1) Salmon's New Survey of England, p. 686. 699.

(2) On a little brook called the *Ine* stands *Ariconium*, from whence, after encompassing the walls of Hereford, it falls into the Wye. Two great Roman roads here cross each other; the one called *Port-way*, comes from *Bullæum*, now *Buelt*, in Brecknockshire, and passing eastwards by Kenchester through Stretton, to which it gives name, over the river Lug to Stretton Grantham, upon the Froome, goes to Worcester. [Gough's Additions to Camden. vol. II. p. 449. in Herefordshire.]

(3) Mr. Salmon inattentively says, that this military way crosses Shropshire. It passes in a direction from south to north, touches the eastern border of that county near Abbots castle, leaves Chesterton on the left, and intersects the famous Watling-street in a heath S. E. of Newport.

Salinæ (Droitwich) on the north-east, and thence passed to Etocetum, near Litchfield. (1)

If the old parchment roll which Camden met with, might be depended on, there was formerly no want of Roman bricks in this city; *Romanis olim superba mœnibus*. (2) But I lay no stress on its authority. If, as is most probable, the Norman castle, and the Cathedral church were built on the site of the old Roman fort; Urso d'Abitot, and Bishop Wulstan must have levelled with the ground the walls of that strong hold, many centuries ago.

But if Worcester be allowed a place among the Roman stations, the curious will be ready to inquire, what was its Roman name. Camden flattered himself that he had found it in Antoninus's Itinerary, where the road from Isca (Caerleon) to Uriconium is laid down, and has these stages: 9 miles to Burrium (Uske), 12 more to Gobannium (Abergavenny), 22 more to Magnæ (3) (Kenchester), 24 thence to Bravonium, or Bravinium; from

(1) "No doubt," says Dr. Stukeley, "but this (Worcester) was a Roman city, yet we could find no remains but a place in it called *Sidbury*, which seems to retain from its name some memorial of that sort."

A Roman road goes hence along the river to *Upton*, where antiquities are dug up (I take it for *Ypocessa* of Ravennas), and so to Tewkesbury, where it meets with the Ricning-street way. A little below Worcester, a river called *Teme* falls into the Severn; a river synonymous to the name of the *Tbames*, which shews it a common name to rivers in the old Celtic language. A river called Saltwarp falls into the Severn from Droitwich, a Roman town which occurs too in Ravennas, under the name of *Salinus*. [Itin. Cur. p. 65.]

Some of the military ways in this county are expressly mentioned in the Saxon charters. A *Fole Herpath*, i. e. public military way, (from *Here*, which signifies army) occurs in the Saxon description of the boundaries of Grimley. Another through a wood in the limits of Clopton, near the rivers Lawern and Temed. Another called *Salt-strete* and *Salt Herpath*, in the boundaries of Wulfrington or Wulverton, a village not far from Spetchley to the east. This seems to be the road to Dorchester, or to Verulam. [See Heming. Chartul. p. 148, 135, 349, 359, 417.]

(2) Camden says, "Worcester was probably founded by the Romans when they built cities at proper intervals on the east side of the Severn, to check the Britons on the opposite shore. And formerly (as an old parchment MS. has it) boasted Roman walls." [Gough's Camden, vol. II. p. 352.]

There is an allusion made to those walls in a letter from the Rev. Mr. Carte of Leicester to Browne Willis, in which, in giving an account of the *Jewry Wall* there, by some supposed to have been a temple of Janus, he says, "It is difficult to judge now what the use of it was; but I am apt to think it was of the same nature with the *Werry Wall* at Lancaster, or the *old works at Worcester*." [Gough's Additions to Camden, in Leicestershire, p. 208, and fig. 1. in plate IV. a view of the ruin.]

On perusing the above account, a hope arose, that a vestige so important and curious might have escaped former research, and with the utmost diligence the ancient city walls were again retraced; but no discovery was made of any part of an arch or wall so constructed, so massive, or composed of such materials, as in the least could bear out the comparison made in the above-cited letter.

(3) *Dæx*, I suppose, might be understood, the city of the great Goddesses.

whence 27 miles complete the march, and terminate at Uriconium, which indisputably is the Wreocan Ceastre of the Saxons in Shropshire, now Wroxeter, famous for its Roman ruins. It is not in the least probable, that Worcester could be a station on this road. Its line of direction runs very wide of Worcester, and the distances laid down in the Itinerary are irreconcilable with the supposition that Bravinium is here. (1) But if we look along the river Teme for the remains of that station; if we place Bravinium at Brandon near Lentwardine, where the Roman street crosses the Teme, and where square intrenchments, in appearance Roman, still remain: all difficulties then vanish; the distances abovementioned are found just; and the track of the military way, still visible near the Strettons in Shropshire, is regularly pursued. (2) The mistake, however, that Worcester was the

(1) It appears, however, that the direction of the routes in the Itinerary are far from being certain and correct. The military ways, and numbers of miles, with the measurement of the Roman mile, are also uncertain. In those parts of England where they were most to be depended on, is in the proportion of three computed English miles to four in the Itinerary of Antoninus. [Gough's Camden, vol. I. p. 74.—And Talbot's Comm. on Antoninus.]

(2) As the opinions of many learned writers on the subject of the Roman roads in this county are given by Mr. Gough in his Additions to Camden, in Worcestershire, vol. II. p. 365, in which this passage is quoted, it may be most satisfactory to give the extract entire.

“From a view of the map formed upon Antoninus' Itinerary *one may venture to pronounce that the county of Worcester had no share in Roman transactions: consequently that its capital can hardly be Brannogenium*, which Ptolemy places among the Ordovices, but rather as Professor Ward inclines to place it with the Branonium,* or Bravinium of Antoninus at Ludlow,† where he finds traces of the second name in the river Onney.‡ Ravennas gives it the same name as Ptolemy. Mr. Salmon, indeed, seems to make Worcester the centre of four or five Roman roads,§ and Baxter has no doubt of its being Brannogenium, &c. But a later writer thinks it is to be sought for on the river Teme at Brandon near Lentwardine, where the Roman way crosses that river, and where square intrenchments still appear.|| Dr. Gale settles it at Rushbury in Shropshire, deriving it from the Welsh Brwyners, a rush.¶ There is no such name as Brannonium in Antoninus, but one MS. has Bravonio,** which probably misled Mr. Camden. Burton disputes its title to Ninnius' name, Cair Guorangon.†† Usher ‡‡ allows it to Caer Guarongon, but

* Quasi Barangonium, MS. n. Gale.

† Horsley, p. 365. Dr. Horsley thinks Ludlow the Bravinium, or Bravonium of Antonine, and that part of its ancient name remains in that portion of the river Onney which runs into the Teme near Ludlow. This, he says, is more remarkable if Bravonium, or Branonium be the true reading, as in the copy of the Itinerary prefixed to the Britannia, and in the book itself, p. 22. Brit. Rom. p. 466.

‡ Wesseling. Antonin. 460.

§ P. 686, 699.

|| Green's Survey, p. 9.

¶ P. 127. At Rushbury in Shropshire, where Roman coins have been frequently found, Dr. Gale places the Bravonium of Antoninus, *by others supposed Worcester*. The Doctor's only reason for this removal, is a fancied resemblance of brwynen, the British word for a bulrush, which suits with Rushbury, and its lying on the direct road from Magnis to Uriconium.

** Simler Wesseling.

†† P. 252.

‡‡ Primord. c. 5.

Bravonium of that Itinerary, was much older than Mr. Camden's time.

transfers *Caer Guercon* to Warwick, or *Wroxcester*. Dr. Gale * translates the former name the City of Soldiers, by the Britons *Barongs* or *Guarongs*, and Camden in Kent mentions an officer called *Gaorong*.† Dr. Nash ‡ removes it beyond Ludlow.

To the foregoing opinions I have yet to add others of a nature too curious, and of authority too respectable to be dispensed with.

“ To speak my mind freely (says Mr. Abingdon) I do not take Worcestershire to be any part of the *Cornavii*, but of the *Dobuni*: *nor do I think the city of Worcester had a being in the Roman times*, for there are no footsteps of any Roman ways leading to this city, nor are their coins or antiquities found in any quantity. All betwixt the Avon and the Severn was formerly thick and wild woodland. The Arden of Warwickshire, joined to that of Feckenham in this county, which with the forest of Ombersley, included all the north part of the county between the Stour and the Severn, quite down to Worcester; and the forest of Horewell southward, extended from Sudbury gate to within a mile of Tewkesbury.

“ Some have imagined that the Romans would not neglect so fine a navigable river as the Severn, but would certainly follow the course of it from Gloucester; but at that time the Severn was not navigable about Worcester, it being used chiefly for fishing, there being, long after the time of the Romans, three weirs within two miles of Worcester, *Bevere*, *Barbone*, and *Timberdine*.” [See Abingdon's MS. cited by Dr. Nash, vol. II. p. cvii. article “ Worcester.”] In the same page the following observations of the late Bishop Lyttelton are also inserted.

“ *I can by no means agree with those who think that Worcester was not a Roman city*, though the true Roman name be lost; for as Camden in his account of Leicestershire § observes, ‘ Our ancestors never gave the name of *Cester*, but only to ancient cities or castles;’ and I believe there is not a single exception to this in the whole kingdom. I must farther add, that Roman coins have been discovered here;|| but I lay little stress on that, as they are found more or less every where, and in greater abundance in the area of Roman camps, than in such cities which are universally allowed to have been first built by the Romans, as Exeter, Gloucester, &c. And as to other remains of Roman antiquity, viz. inscribed stones, mosaic pavements, sepulchral urns, Roman brick, &c. the many fires which have happened in Worcester which several times almost destroyed the whole city, have raised the ground so much that they seldom come to light; and this is the case in many other Roman towns throughout England. With regard to Roman roads leading to and from Worcester, though it is asserted there are none, yet I fancy on an exact search there would be found vestigia of them, though the plough may in this cultivated part of the country, during a course of so many ages, have almost quite levelled them. If any credit may be given to an old writer, R. Higden, cited in Gale's Essay on the Roman Roads,¶ *the Ykenild-street passed through Worcester from Maridunum in South Wales to Droitwich, Edgbaston, Wall near Litchfield, Little Chester near Derby, and so on to Tinmouth in Northumberland*; but though I cannot subscribe to this, as the Ykenild undoubtedly enters this county at Beoley in its course from Alcester in Warwickshire, and passes by Bordesley park in Alve-church, and so goes to Edgbaston and Wall, yet I have myself often observed a high raised road on the Lickey, pointing directly to Bromsgrove; from whence I make no doubt but it proceeded to Wich, the supposed *Salinæ* of Ravennas, and thence to Worcester. Another

* Ant. et aut. ibi cit.

† P. 352, note n.

‡ Pref. p. iii. Worcestershire. Dr. Nash further says, that he chooses rather to subscribe to the conjecture of Dr. Gale, or Mr. Horsley, as above quoted, than to Camden, who thought it was the Brannonium, or Bravinium mentioned by Antoninus, and the Brannogenium of Ptolemy, which was all one and the same place. [Worcester, Appendix. vol. II. p. cvii.]

§ Gibs. edit. p. 530. 1722.

|| See Dougharty's plan of this city, published 1741.

¶ Lel. Itin. vol. VI. p. 109.

We find that one Senatus, a Benedictine of Worcester, in the twelfth century,

Roman road called the Port-way, and in Wulfrune's Saxon grant of Over Arley to the canons of Wolverhampton,* denominated the *strete* or *street* (by which the Saxons generally meant the Roman street or highway), *lies now in the direct road between Worcester and Shrewsbury*, and I am persuaded was *the Roman road between Worcester and Wroxeter*, the town of Shrewsbury having risen out of the old ruins of Wroxeter.† A Roman road comes out of Salop or Staffordshire, and passes over the heath near Stour-bridge (where by a place called Green's Forge is a vast camp called the Churchyard, and mentioned by Dr. Plott in his Natural History of Staffordshire), which proceeds through Hagley-common; and is known by the name of the King's Head-land; and not far distant is a great Roman camp on Wichbury-hill, and three mounds or tumuli on the common very near it; and I suspect *this road also leads by Clent and Chaddesley towards Worcester*.

“As to the argument against there being any Roman roads leading to Worcester, from the county being all a forest between the Severn, the Stour, and the Avon, including also the great forest of Arden in Warwickshire; I can see no force in it, since it is past a dispute that from Alcester to Edgbaston runs a Roman road, known at this day by the name of the Ickle or Ikenyld-street, and likewise the other road I mentioned above, crossing the Lickey towards Bromsgrove, and the two last described, viz. the Port-way in Over Arley, and the King's Head-land in Hagley; all which were within the ancient bounds either of the forests of Arden, Feckenham, or Kinvar; and to these I must add, a lane leading from the Lickey towards Tardebig and Alvechurch, commonly called Twatling-street, which no doubt is a corruption from Watling-street, a name common to Roman roads, as some writers have observed, there being one in Scotland, and two or three in England.‡

“The eastern suburb of this city is named Sudbury, and a huge tumulus or barrow, about a mile distant, called Cruckbarrow, still remains; both which it is probable derive their origin from the Romans; the former its name, and the latter its existence; the Saxons naming those places *burys* or *boroughs*, which had been fortified by the Romans; hence Woodbury-hill above Great Witley, Wichbury-hill in Hagley, Membury, near Dorchester, Woodbury-castle, near Exeter.”

Andrew Yarranton,§ born in Astley parish in Worcestershire, published in two parts “England's Improvement by Sea and Land.” The account given by Mr. Yarranton, in the second part of that work, p. 162, 163,|| published in 1698, of his discovery of the hearth of a Roman foot-blast, and of the pot of Roman coin found by its side, near the walls of this city, merits more of credence than Dr. Nash (who has quoted the narrative at length ¶) appears willing to allow to it. Had, indeed, that hearth, the cinders, or even the coin, been the only instances of their kind he had ever met with, a doubt might have been raised on his competency of judgment respecting them. But of the first he was well acquainted, and enabled from his information (since he describes this to have been “firm and in order,” for working) to give an opinion, by comparing it with others he had examined: of the last I cannot suppose him so little informed of what nation the coin belonged to, as to hand many of them to Sir William Dugdale as Roman, without knowing them to have been such; that that learned antiquary, finding them of another nation, should have failed in undeceiving him; or that a portion of them would have been deposited in the king's closet under that description, had they been either known or found to have been of another. The coins still continuing to be found here may be considered as a sort of evidence less direct, yet the

* Dugd. Mon. tom. I. fol. 988.

† In Arley wood near this footway is a vast Roman camp, square and treble ditched, yet remaining.

‡ See the Index to Gibson's edit. of Camden's Brit. § See a note in Gough's Add. to Camden, vol. II. p. 357; in Worcestershire. || See also the first part, p. 57; published 1677.

¶ See Appendix, vol. II. p. cviii; Worcester.

who wrote the lives of St. Oswald and St. Wulstan, stiled himself Bravonius upon this conceit. (1)

Brannogenium is another name that has been assigned for ancient Wor-

other proofs are strengthened by it. For an account of a considerable number found within these few years, see Sect. XXII.

I readily subscribe, however, to the opinion that although the exact spot has not been discovered where the mass of cinders Mr. Yarranton speaks of is deposited, that it forms part of that rising ground seen on the north side of the city walls, including the Butts, and the eminence continued from thence to the west, and extending itself along that height to the site of the infirmary.

On this subject I have been favoured with the following further information, communicated in a letter from Dr. Johnson, an eminent physician in Worcester.

“On the bank of the Severn, in Pitchcroft, and very near Worcester, a very considerable quantity of dross, such as remains after the melting of iron ore, is found. In one place it is called Cinder Point, and there some burnt bricks, appearing like the vestige of an iron furnace, are to be seen when the water is low. This dross or cinder is buried under the surface of Pitchcroft meadow, no where less than five feet, in some parts below Cinder Point, a foot or two more: and from these levels the dross is gradually washed from the bank, and falls down to the river. In destroying the old bridge, a structure which stood on the site of a former bridge of unknown antiquity, much of this dross was found in the foundation of the piers, and filled the old piers in the slovenly mode of ancient masonry. There is now no melting furnace near Worcester, nor is iron-stone, or any other mine of iron in the neighbourhood of it; none are known nearer than those of Dudley, Wednesbury, the Clee-hill, and Colebrook-dale.

“In searching for the inducements for placing an iron melting furnace so far from its mines, we shall be led to circumstances, which in all probability discover the period of time, and the people by whom they were worked. The ancient Britons were undoubtedly acquainted with the method of converting iron ore into weapons of war, if not other utensils; but they could have no motive to reduce the ore at such distances from the mine. Such necessity seems peculiar to invaders and new settlers, before regular safe communications of a commercial kind were established; all carriage was liable to interruption from hostile attacks. From tradition, it seems probable the Romans first made their establishment at Worcester, in the time of Constantius Chlorus, father of Constantine the Great. This infant colony must be liable to be molested by the neighbouring hostile tribes; and from them the transportation of iron from other Roman settlements would be liable to interruption, along with every other kind of commerce. But the carriage and transport of ore down the Severn from the iron mines of Colebrook-dale would be perfectly easy and safe. The Roman town of Uriconium which had been established in Shropshire, only a few miles from these copious iron mines, by Julius Agricola, must have been in the age of Constantius an old and strong colony. Iron ore could thence be easily conveyed by water to Worcester under the protection of the established colony; and timber, the other essential to the reduction of ore into iron, being then every where abundant, iron would be forged in sufficient quantity to supply the infant colony at Worcester, with greater facility than it could be conveyed to them at its first settlement. Hence, I conclude, that the cinder or dross found on this spot, is referable to iron furnaces worked by Roman settlers in the beginning of the fourth century; this is confirmed by the depth of soil in which it is buried, by the successive strata of mud left by the river breaking out on Pitchcroft, which is inundated by it in every wet year by the overflowing of the Severn; and also by specimens of pottery, apparently Roman, found mixed with this dross, a fragment of which I have in my possession. I send you a piece of the dross or scoria, which is in great abundance on the bed and bank of the river.”

(1) He was well versed in the literature of those days; was esteemed an honour to his monastery; died, and was buried there, A. D. 1170. [Stevens's Monasticon, vol. I. p. 202.]

cester. Brannogenium occurs in Ptolemy, and is set down by him as one of the towns of the Ordovices. These were the old inhabitants of North Wales, and possessed also part of Shropshire to the west of the Severn : but whether that garden of nature, Herefordshire, or great part of it, were not included in their territory, is uncertain. Mr. Baxter is the only antiquary that brings Malvern hills within the southern limit of the Ordovices.

There is an old geographical manuscript, the work of Ricardus Corinensis, a learned English monk, which lay unnoticed many ages in the library at Copenhagen, and has lately been presented to the public by M. Bertram in Denmark. This curious compiler had copied into his work some Roman Itineraries, not less valuable than that which improperly bears Antoninus's name. In the tenth Iter that he gives through Britain, we find the station Brannogenium, and upon a road that points out Worcester as the place. From Etocetum in the way to Aquæ Solis (*i. e.* from Wall near Litchfield in the road to Bath), the first stage, according to Ricardus, is Bremenium, (1) the next Salinæ ; thence the road goes on through Brannogenium to Glebum, whence to Corinium Dobunorum is fourteen miles.

Corinium is well known to be Cirencester, the capital town of the Dobuni, or men of the vale ; (2) Glebum is as certainly Gloucester ; Salinæ, Droitwich, whose salt springs appear from this Itinerary to have been known to the Romans. And can any doubt remain, whether the station between Salinæ and Glebum be Worcester ? (3)

Camden arraigns the negligence of Ptolemy's transcribers, by whom Brannogenium is classed under the Ordovices. He thinks it was a town of the Cornavii ; whose principal settlements were Chester on the Dee, and Wroxeter on the Severn. But Worcester was separated from these by a prodigious tract of woodland ; of which some remains only were seen in the last age, and called the forests of Wire and of Feckenham. This range of woods extended from the Clee hills in Shropshire to the neighbourhood of

(1) This seems to be Birmingham, which stands on the famous military way called Ikenild-street.

(2) From the British word Dwfn or Duvn, *i. e.* deep land.

(3) Besides these main roads, Watling-street, Hermin-street, the Fosse, and Ikening, or Icknild-street, it is certain that there have been a great many vicinal branches, and some which have crossed the principal ways at nearly right angles. There have been also considerable military ways in Britain, on which no Iter has proceeded. The first instance among many others is mentioned, Akeman-street, *leading from Alchester (Alcester in Warwickshire) to Bath.* [Gough's Camden, vol. I. p. 75. Antonini Iter Britanniarum.]

Worcester, (1) and took a vast compass eastward, extending, by the name of Ardene forest, over half of Warwickshire. Hence, whatever tribe or clan of Britons possessed the city Wrangon, or Brannogenium, they were separated by a natural barrier from the Cornavii on the north, and from the Coritani on the north-east; but not so from the Ordovices, who might be settled along the fruitful banks of the Teme, down from Lentwardine to the junction of that river with the Severn in the neighbourhood of Worcester.

It must indeed be confessed, that the position of Brannogenium in Ptolemy's tables, with regard to its longitude and latitude, agrees better with Lentwardine (the old Bravinium) than with Worcester. It is possible, that the Alexandrian geographer, or his transcribers, misled by the affinity of names, might have set down Brannogenium in his tables instead of Bravinium. (2) If Cair Wrangon (ancient Worcester) did not belong to the Ordovices, it must have been a town of the Dobuni, who were masters of all that part of Gloucestershire which lies to the east of the Severn. (3)

SECT. II.

OF WORCESTER UNDER THE SAXONS.

It was long after the settlement of the Saxons in Britain, before they carried their conquests as far as the Severn. Gloucester and Cirencester were not taken from the Britons till A. D. 577; and then were taken, not by

(1) Hendlip and Bradecote woods were branches of the king's forest when the Conqueror's survey was taken. Ambersley was disforested by King Henry III.

(2) Mr. Baxter shews plainly that Antoninus has corrupted Ptolemy's Brannogenium, which answers to *Caer Urangon*, or Worcester. *Glossar. in voce.* [Gough's *Add. to Cam.* vol. II. p. 411; in *Shropshire.*]

(3) A late writer says, it cannot well be supposed that Worcester, situated on the east bank of the Severn, and so low down, could belong to the Ordovices. If, however, Worcester was really a Roman town, which is no way improbable, it seems to be that which Richard in his *Chorography*, assigns to the Dobuni, under the name of *Branogena*, but which, in his map, he calls *Brangonum*. This last is evidently the same with the name *Wrangon*, given to Worcester by the Welch, whence the Saxons changed it to *Wrangon-ceaster*, and thence by corruption comes its present name. [See the late General Roy's

the Mercians, but by the King of Wessex, *i. e.* of Wiltshire, Berkshire, and Hampshire. The West Saxons, after this, turned their arms to the reduction of Somersetshire: it does not appear that they ever dispossessed the Britons of Worcester.

The kingdom of the Mercians was at first weak, and difficultly supported itself against the superiority of its southern neighbours. Penda, who began his reign in 625, was the first active and enterprising commander of these people; he made himself independent of the Kentish king; and extended his

Military Antiquities of the Romans in Britain; in Appendix, No. I. p. 173; published by the Society of Antiquaries, London, 1793.]

From the foregoing opinions, it would seem that more pains had been taken to prove that none of the Roman ways, diverging or vicinal, had a direction from their great roads towards this county, than that it would have been a policy too much unlike Roman for them to have suffered so considerable a tribe of Britons, over whom they had no control, to remain in possession of so large a tract of country on both sides of so important a river as the Severn, in the centre of a part of the island bounded by their stations, fortresses, and military strong holds, unknowing of, and unknown to them, notwithstanding they had been in possession of every other part of the island, and resident in it for upwards of four hundred years.

It cannot fail to become apparent, that, from the difference of the opinions formed on the subject of the Romanity of Worcester, and which have been thus collected into one focus with a view to shew their agreement and disagreement, it has ever been considered as a point of great nicety on which to conclude. In a state of uncertainty, therefore, this question must still be left to individual judgment to determine, rendered perplexing from learned conjecture and fanciful interpretation, in which great reading and much ingenuity have undoubtedly been displayed, but in which, unfortunately, a tribe of Britons have been overlooked, and the Romans themselves so bewildered as, according to some, not one of their solitary footways have ventured to diverge from their great roads towards Worcester; whilst, according to others, it has been the centre from whence many of them have irradiated to various other places of consequence in this part of the island. It is felt as a sufficient discharge of duty to have mingled an humble opinion with those of superior information, on a subject so ably discussed; and which, even if it be on the weakest side, has yet very powerful advocates to support it.

Under the head of Roman antiquity, it may not be amiss to mention the crypts or artificial caverns under ground, which tradition attests to have been formerly discovered beneath a very populous part of this city; and to have been traced by some workmen quite from the College as far as a house called the Earl's Post; and that they are continued from thence to the nunnery of Whitstanes. The use for which such subterraneous walks were made, is now impossible to be ascertained: as for the ludicrous intention of them commonly assigned, it deserves not the least notice. I shall content myself with observing, that some other Roman cities had the like galleries under ground. Ranulf Cestrensis speaks of them at Chester; Giraldus at Caerleon: Verulam (now St. Alban's) had ranges of them extended to a prodigious length. Abbat Ealdred, in the time of King Edgar, partly destroyed and partly filled up the vaults there; considering them as the coverts of impurity, the asylum of fugitives, and the dens of robbers. And for the like reasons, they have been shut up ages ago, in other places. [See Stevens's Monast. vol. I. p. 237.]

territories westward to the Severn. In 628 he attempted to take Cirencester from the West Saxons. (1) The Britons were less capable of resisting him; Worcester, it is probable, fell into his hands about that time. The Mercians were as yet pagans, and exterminated Christianity wherever they prevailed. If, as some old writers (2) pretend, this city was then the see of a British bishop, suffragan to the metropolitan of Meneu (St. David's); the bishop, as well as his clergy, had no choice at this juncture but death, or flight; when all monuments of Christian piety were by these barbarous conquerors destroyed.

Wulfere, the son of Penda, began his reign in 658, and was more victorious than his father. He had been converted to the Christian faith; and was zealous in propagating it, not only in his paternal territories, but in those that he subdued. He made his brother Merwald his viceroy in Herefordshire; who founded the monastery of Leominster. *Osric* (3) or *Oshere*, another of his great men, he appointed to be viceroy of the *Huiccii*, or people of *Huicca* province, under which name the Saxons comprehended the inhabitants of Worcestershire, and Gloucestershire, and of part of Warwickshire. The residence of this viceroy was doubtless at *Wegerna* or *Wigornaceastre*: so the Saxons called the city, which at present has the name of Worcester.

The meaning of this name *Huiccii* or *Wiccii*, has exercised the skill of etymologists. Dr. Thomas follows those who derive the word from *Wic*, which, among other significations in Saxon, was used to express the creeks, curvatures, or winding of river banks. But, besides that the Severn, in gliding through Worcestershire and Gloucestershire, has fewer windings than most rivers; how unlikely is it that the eastern parts of Cotswold downs, near Blockley and Iccumb, should have the name of *Mons Wiccisca* (4) (*Wiccian* hill), from the meanders of a river which glide at so great a distance from it; yet so we find it named in a charter de *Oswaldes lawe*, ascribed to King Edgar. (5)

A learned writer, (6) who has sifted all remains of British antiquity with great diligence, proposes another conjecture. He observes, that the vast

(1) Saxon Chron. (2) Roger de Hoveden, chaplain to King Henry II. Walter de Coventry; and John Bale. [See Usher *Britann. Eccl. Antiq.* p. 48. folio.] (3) *Wlsber*, or *Osberus*, is called the Duke of the *Wiccians*. [Ab. MS. p. 2.] (4) *Wiccisia*, orig. Cott. libr. Vit. IX. 2.

(5) Heming Chart. Hearne, p. 520.

(6) Carte.

forests which spread themselves over the greatest part of Worcestershire, and ran far into the adjacent counties, were in those times useful, chiefly for the excellent pannage or mast they afforded for hogs: whence, as the wealth of the inhabitants consisted in droves of these animals, the province itself might have its name from them, and from Húkh (the British word for Porcus) be denominated Huicca, (1) or in Latin, Wiccia, and its people Wiccii.

The Huiccii of Bede, says Mr. Whitacre, are evidently the Jugantes of Tacitus, the appellation of the tribe being Huicc-ii and Guicc-ii, in the singular, or Jug-ant-es in the plural. (2) And Brannogenium or Worcester seems to have been their capital. The Ordovices, a distinct tribe from the Jugantes, (3) being masters of North Wales, Shropshire, Staffordshire, and East Cheshire, and becoming afterwards the conquerors of Worcestershire, Warwickshire, and North Gloucestershire, received the distinguishing title of Ord-uices, or Ordo-vices, the Great Huiccii, or honourable Vices. Their dominion was wide and extensive, but it did not long remain so. The combined forces of the Dobuni on the south, the Cornavii on the north, and the Silures, who penetrated into the centre of their possessions, put a final period to their empire. (4)

After the expulsion of the Ordovices it appears that the Cornavii, with the auxiliary tribes of Britons, the Dobuni and Silures, became seated in the abovementioned counties, and in their turn were called the Wigantes, or Huiccii. (5)

When the Britons were driven out by the Saxons, they retired beyond the Severn, and defended their new territories against the encroaching conquerors; so that Worcestershire and the other counties bordering on that river were the frontier between the two people: hence it has been observed that most of the great cities on the east of the Severn and Dea were built by the Romans or Saxons, or both, against the Britons. (6)

The second part of the country of the Cornavii, now called Worcester-

(1) Huicca mægthe, *i. e.* Wicciorum provincia, occurs in a charter of Ethelbald, King of Mercia, in the Saxon language. Heming. p. 45. (2) Ann. lib. xii. c. 40. Bede, p. 765.

(3) Ann. lib. xii. c. 40. and Agric. Vit. c. 18.

(4) Richard, p. 24, 26. Whitacre's Hist. of Manchester, vol. I. 8vo. ed. p. 202, 203, 204.

(5) Camden, Baxt. Glossa. p. 88, 89, 90. Strutt's Chron. vol. I. p. 243.

(6) Twine's Breviary of Britain, p. 26. Gough's Add. to Camd. in Worcestershire, vol. II. p. 356.

shire, was called by the Saxons Wire-ceaster-scyre, whose inhabitants, with others round about, were called in Bede's time, before England was divided into counties, *Wiccii*. (1) Wirecester must be a corruption of Wigora, or Wigracester, its name under the Conqueror and his sons, and Wigracester a contraction of Wic-wara-cester, the city of the men of Wiccia. (2) The name of *Wigornia* occurs in Florence of Worcester, who died above sixty years before Joseph of Exeter wrote. (3)

But I rather subscribe to Mr. Camden, who gives the name a Saxon original, and derives it from the Wiches, or briny wells, that with little labour yield salt, the staple of this province from the earliest ages. He had reason to think, that such wells were anciently found in several parts of Wiccia; and afterwards closed up to prevent too great consumption of wood, which was the only fuel for the furnace in those times. The old Chartulary mentions a salt pit in the boundaries of Scepwæscetune (4) (Shipston upon Stour); a salt well adjacent to Iccumb (5) on the west; a road called Salt-street, (6) near Euinlode; a salt brook, salt pit, or saltere wællan (*salitoris puteus*) (7) in the limits of Wulfrington, a village to the east of Worcester. But the springs that were most famous, and have survived the memory of all their rivals, were those near the river Salwarp; which gave both name and subsistence to a town that grew up on their margin, now distinguished by the name of Droitwich. (8)

There was at first but one bishop for the Mercian kingdom, with no settled place of residence. A cathedral was built at Litchfield for Ceadda, or St. Chad, the fourth of the Mercian bishops, who died in 672. Saxulf, one of his successors, is commonly deemed founder of the first Saxon church at

(1) Bede's Eccl. Hist. c. 22. Camden, Gough's edit. vol. II. p. 351; in Worcestershire.

(2) Ibid. p. 365.

(3) Gale, *ibid.* Camden had supposed, in p. 352, Joseph of Exeter to have been the first writer who had given that name to Worcester. He has also said that the Saxons afterwards, probably called it Weogare-ceaster, Wegeorna-ceaster, and Wire-ceaster, from the forest of Wire. This suggestion is, however, over-ruled, from the too great distance of that forest, and from its being as much in Shropshire as Worcestershire.

(4) Heming, p. 339.

(5) P. 412.

(6) P. 214.

(7) P. 359, 360.

(8) This name is of no great antiquity. In Domesday book, where this town is frequently mentioned, it is called Wich; in the Saxon charters Wic, and sometimes Salt Wic. Brine springs had this appellation from the sacredness ascribed to them: for Wic in Saxon is holy; and in a secondary sense, a sanctuary or asylum. In Tacitus, Annal. l. xiii. c. 57. a remarkable instance of German superstition with regard to such springs.

Worcester, dedicated to St. Peter : in which, so soon as erected, a bishop was placed by King Ethelred, to preside in ecclesiastical affairs over the whole Wiccian province. This king, who succeeded his brother Wulfere, in the very beginning of his reign, made an useful regulation, by dividing his kingdom, the most extensive that the heptarchy could boast of, into five dioceses. Osric, the Wiccian viceroy, prevailed with him, that one of the new bishops might be assigned to his metropolis. (1) Accordingly Bosel was consecrated A. D. 679, with the title of *Episcopus Huicciorum*. The other Mercian sees constituted about this time, were Hereford, Sidnacester, and Leicester. The see of Litchfield subsisted, but with a diocese much contracted.

After Osric's time there is a silence about the viceroys of Worcester, till the reign of King Offa. Uhtred, *propriæ gentis Regulus*, is a Wiccian prince frequently mentioned in the charters of that time ; as also his brother Aldred, who signs himself *Wigra Cestres Under Cining, i. e. Deputy King of Worcester*. (2) This Aldred was also A. D. 778, stiled "*Regulus et Dux propriæ gentis Huicciorum*." Ruler and Duke of his own nation of the Huiccii, or Worcestershire men.—"*Subregulus Wigornia Civitatis*." Lieutenant of the City of Worcester.—"*Regulus Wicciorum licentiâ Regis Offani Merciorum*." Governor of the Worcestershire men by licence of Offa, King of the Mercians. (3)

At the death of Offa, in the year 796, the kingdom of Mercia was arrived to its summit of glory, and greatest extent. It was the last kingdom the Saxons established, and was named suitably to the circumstance of its erection. Mercia, signifying end, or bound, or else famous, great, because it was the largest kingdom of the heptarchy. (4) It was divided from that of Northumberland by the rivers Mersey and Humber ; extended eastward to the fens of Cambridgeshire ; southward to the Thames and to the Avon, that runs by the city of Bath ; and was bounded on the west by Offa's famous dyke, which he carried on from sea to sea, along the frontiers of Wales. Not less than seventeen of our present counties, included within this compass, were subject to the Mercian dominion : viz. Cheshire, Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire, Lincolnshire, Huntingdonshire, Northamptonshire,

(1) Florence of Worcester. (2) It must be owned that some of the grants, which bear the names of these princes, are but of suspicious authority. (3) Abingd. MS. p. 3. (4) See Dr. Hickes's Preface to his Anglo-Saxon Grammar, dedicated to Sir John Pakington. Dr. Nash, Pref. p. iv.

Rutlandshire, Leicestershire, Warwickshire, Staffordshire, Shropshire, Herefordshire, Worcestershire, Gloucestershire, Oxfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Bedfordshire, and part of Hertfordshire. King Wulfere had his residence at Wedon, in Northamptonshire: but Tamworth, in Staffordshire, was the most celebrated of the royal seats of Mercia.

The great Alfred, whose paternal throne was that of Wessex, was the first king in England who had all the provinces of the heptarchy under his immediate dominion. Yet he thought it expedient to govern the Mercians by a prince of their ancient nobility, Duke Ethelred, to whom he had given his daughter Ethelfleda, a very heroine, in marriage. Several towns in Mercia (Chester, Shrewsbury, Stafford, Warwick, and Bridgnorth,) are indebted to this noble pair; at least to Ethelfleda, who, surviving the duke seven years, died A. D. 919. Worcester also has obligations to them: for, by a charter of theirs, (1) signed in King Alfred's reign, (*i. e.* before A. D. 900) upon Bishop Wærfred's desire, that the city of Weogernaceastre might be improved and fortified with bulwarks for the security of its inhabitants, they granted to the church or minster there one half of the royal dues or tolls, arising either from the market or the street, reserving only the wain-shilling and the seam-penny (2) entire to the king. But out of all his land-rents, and the mulcts for fighting, theft, fraud, &c. and the other forfeitures that might accrue to the crown, they assigned a moiety to the use of St. Peter's church and see.

In consequence of this grant, the castle, we may suppose, of Worcester, (the ancient seat of the Wiccian viceroys) was repaired; and some fortresses erected round it, of which only one has reached our time. This is the tower commonly called Edgar's, because the statues of that king and of Elfleda and Elfrida his queens are placed on its eastern front. (3) But it was erected in the time of his son King Ethelred II. if we may depend on

(1) Heming. Chartul. p. 3.

(2) This was a duty on wares carried out; one penny each horse load; and twelve times as much a loaded wain.

(3) On the opposite side there is a remarkable bust, prominent from the building, and not inelegantly finished. It represents a monk leaning forwards, in a position almost horizontal; supporting himself by his left hand, and holding in his right, which is drawn in towards his breast, something oval; whether a chrismatory, or other vasculum, or any kind of fruit, I leave to the curious in the minutiae of antiquity to determine. There is also in this west front, in a niche over the gateway, a very well executed bust of King George II. erected at the expence of the dean and chapter of Worcester. Underneath, in gold letters, is written, "Georgius Secundus."



West Front.

Erected 1793.

G. Byfield Architect.

HOUSE of INDUSTRY.



East Front.

Ja. Roß delin. et sculp.

EDGAR'S TOWER AD-MV WORCESTER.

London, Published by V. Green June 1st 1794.

an inscription extant upon it not many years ago, which was judged by the ablest antiquaries to express, in Gothic letters, the year from the nativity MV, *i. e.* A. D. 1005. Instead of which, the repairers of this building, when its surface was last scaled, have set up the date A. D. 975, in our modern numerals; supposing that these were the characters intended by the ancient sculptor: whereas the Arabic method of numeration, now in use, was not introduced in England till long after the tenth century. (1)

(1) See the Philosophical Transactions, No. 439. p. 136. Memoirs of the Royal Society, Vol. X. p. 148. plate vi. fig. 6. p. 281. where we have a delineation of the date on this tower in the antique characters, such as it originally appeared; a copy of which is subjoined at the bottom of the annexed plate, representing the east front of this building.

In farther considering this subject, I shall treat first of the fabric, and secondly of the ancient date found upon this tower; both of which have so much engaged the attention of the antiquarian world, and among others, that of my late learned friend, the Rev. Mr. Garbet.

That this tower might have been erected at the time of the supposed date, said by some of the learned commentators to have been originally inscribed upon it, viz. *M. C. i. e.* 1005, the 26th year of the reign of King Edgar's second son Ethelred, surnamed the Unready, is not so difficult to imagine, from one circumstance, namely, the nearness of that time to the death of his father, King Edgar; as that it is highly improbable from another, viz. that the stile of architecture in which it is built, was totally unknown to the Saxons.

After the demise of King John, an occasion arose, which appears to warrant the propriety, I may add the necessity, of raising this edifice, and which also authorizes the stile of its building, which began about that time to obtain in England. This was the grant to the monastery of that moiety of the castle which occupied the space south of the present cathedral, now known by the name of the College Green. On the demolition of that part of the ancient fortress, a general inclosure of the newly granted possessions of the church seems to have taken place. It had been the custom in those ages to encompass the precincts of the church with strong and high walls. [Somner's Antiq. Cant. Part III. p. 89.] In Henry the Third's time the bishop's palace at Worcester is said to be *infra clausum*, within the close. The wall which now forms the south boundary of the college precincts, dividing them from the present castle or county gaol, was raised at this period; in its direction from the river eastwards, this wall ended at the knoll, where the ancient portal or entrance into the castle originally stood, to which Edgar-street served as a grand avenue, and on the site of which Edgar's Tower now stands. Under the direction of the monastery another (the present) portal was substituted, in a stile of magnificence that bespoke the sense they entertained of the royal favour, but not with a view of having vested in the church the government of a military fortress; the rule against which had already been laid down.* Its more direct purpose

* The castle of Old Sarum was vested in the king, in which the old cathedral stood. In the council held at Winchester in 1140, the then Archbishop of Roan in Normandy, who was present, maintained this position, that by the canons of the church, bishops could have no right to hold castles, and that if they were tolerated to do so by the royal sufferance or indulgence, they ought at least upon apprehensions of danger to deliver up the keys. Here then the important question at that time arose, whether bishops might be governors of such strong holds, or not? This question was determined by a great churchman against bishops in general, and against the then Bishop of Sarum in particular. [Daniel in K. Stephen, p. 61. Camden in Wilts. Godwin, in Roger, third Bishop of Sarum. W. Malmsb. Hist. Nov. l. ii. See also the Account of Old Sarum, p. 35.]

Wiga-erne signifies in Saxon the warrior's lodge, the hero's place of

was certainly to perpetuate, in the character of Edgar, their first and greatest benefactor, the obligations their church had to him in particular, as well as to some preceding and succeeding kings. The tower has accordingly received his name, and, as appears in several ancient writings, that name has in consequence devolved also on the street at the head of which it stands, and which it retains to this day. The statues, representing Edgar seated between his two queens, in a range of parallel niches in the east front of the building, are not of that class of figures which usually form the decorations of our ancient castles, or other civil edifices not connected with a church; on the contrary, sacred imagery is mingled with the sculptured representations of a Saxon king and his queens; and our Saviour crowning his blessed Mother formed a central group, which was placed over the head of Edgar, indicative of that reward he had merited of heaven, in his care of the church. Under his feet the date 975 was inscribed: this date other commentators have better deciphered than explained its purpose; for it is the date of his death. These are circumstances appropriate and illustrative beyond the imputation of fiction, and apply strictly to the objects before us: they also strengthen the opinion I have always entertained, that this building was raised under the immediate direction of the monastery, and on that account, even supposing it to have been erected prior to the time of King John, it was suffered to remain untouched, whilst the castle itself was doomed to destruction. The precise time at which this tower was erected, is not of importance to its designation. It is saying enough, that "the pure Gothic stile which prevails throughout the whole structure is alone a sufficient proof that it was not erected in the Saxon times." *

The remarks of Mr. Abingdon on this tower can only be placed among the minutiae of the observations this subject has engaged. He says, "King John, a great benefactor to the church of Worcester, did by all likelihood build the stately gatehouse of his court, which after served the priory, and now the college. In the front whereof, under the statues of our blessed Saviour crowning his blessed Mother, is a king armed, with his legs crossed, which may represent King John, who, An. Dom. 1215, in St. Paul's church, London, took on him the sign of the cross for the holy voyage; or King Richard the 1st, whose lion's heart so conquered the infidels." † Dr. Lyttelton does not appear to have much assisted these conjectures by a comparison of some figures found at Exeter and at Wells, which are said to have a resemblance in their stile and execution with those at Worcester, as I may venture to affirm, that although in sepulchral cumbent figures the *crossing of the legs* in many of them is to be taken as one mark of their having been devoted to the crusade; a *sitting figure, with his right leg laid across his left knee*, is not to be considered in the light suggested, and that a knight of the holy voyage is no where to be found so represented. That action however, as far as regards the figure in question, whatever may have given rise to the choice, was extremely well executed by the sculptor.

In the same dissertation in which the learned author has considered the suggestions of Mr. Abingdon, (notwithstanding the support he has given to those which regard the time of the erecting of this tower) by adverting to the two female figures between whom the king is seated, and finding that neither King John, nor Richard the First had either more than one wife, ‡ we are brought back again to the precise point from whence Dr. Thomas and other writers had set out, and King Edgar and his two queens are left in the quiet possession of their honours, as we now find them, and which they may probably hereafter enjoy without farther controversy.

In the 10th volume of the Memoirs of the Royal Society, plate vi. fig. 6. p. 281, we have a delineation in the old English black letter, in which character the date was originally inscribed on King Edgar's tower at Worcester, and of which the following is a copy, viz. *A.D. 975*. || This, taken at the first

* Bishop Lyttelton's MS. note on this passage in the Survey, p. 18, 19. penes me. † Abingdon's MS. p. 24. In the archives of the dean and chapter. ‡ Archæologia, vol. I. art. XXXIV. p. 140.

|| This date is also engraved in the Gentleman's Magazine for March, 1748, p. 122.

retirement. Perhaps this may account for the name which the Saxons gave to the Ceastre or Roman fort they found here: which they called Wigerna, Weogerna, (1) Wigorna, and in process of time more contractedly Wegrin, Wigra-cester, and Wigornceaster: (2) this, afterwards, was corrupted into Wircestre, a mode of writing that prevailed about the

glance, appears to denote A.D. MV. *i. e.* 1005, according to some. Whilst others supposing the date to be in Arabic numerals, by dividing the ~~99~~ thus, ¶ 9, † 7, with the † 5, it then appears that 975 was the date inscribed. Here, however, it must be noted, that the two first figures only are of the Arabian character, the last being the black letter *u*. * If this mixture or combination of character be allowed in these numerals, we have then a direct application of the number to the date of the year in which Edgar died, an event, as has already been observed, proper to be inscribed beneath his statue. And this I conceive to be a sufficient reply also to Bishop Lyttelton's MS. note on this passage in the Survey, p. 19. viz. "As to the *pretended* dates of MV. or 975, no argument can be drawn from them, as neither of them can possibly be ascertained." †

Dr. Nash has informed us, that Mr. Wilkinson, architect to the cathedral, when he chipped this tower in the year 1730, he found the walls in several parts covered with fine work, like lace-work, and in many parts gilt and painted like some parts of Westminster Abbey. And so far from thinking the building prior to the reign of King John, he judges it to have been erected some years subsequent to that period. ‡ From an account of this structure given by Mr. Cope, and printed in the Memoirs of the Royal Society, it appears that the date was only *painted, in black upon a gold ground*. This account, he says, was communicated to him by Mr. Joseph Dougharty of Worcester, who lived in the house over its gateway, and who also informed him that it went by the name of the oldest house in five counties. ||

I imagine it probable that this date had been so affixed, to correspond with the other *gilt and painted* parts of the building. That Dr. Thomas saw it, and that it was legible in his time, there can be no doubt, notwithstanding Dr. Ward has questioned it, as he was cotemporary with Mr. Joseph Dougharty; and that this date was legible to more advantage in Mr. Abingdon's time is still less to be questioned, although Dean Lyttelton has doubted the fact. § On the repair of the tower as mentioned by Dr. Nash, and already quoted, the date as we now see it, was put up in modern numerals, A. D. 975, cut in stone.

When Dr. Stukeley took his drawing of the east front of this tower in 1721, ¶ there was then in being a single figure in a small niche above that which contained the group of Christ and the Virgin Mary, the top of this small niche rose parallel to the points of the present windows; this figure is now gone, and the group beneath it so defaced, as renders Mr. Abingdon's account of it, which Dr. Thomas has followed, valuable, in having ascertained its design. Dr. Stukeley's plate has, however, reversed the view of the tower in the impression.

(1) Weogerna-ceastre very often occurs. The dipthong *eo* in Anglo-Saxon was pronounced like *ee* in modern English: thus the ancient words *deop*, *weod*, *treo*, *hweol*, *beo*, &c. are now written *deep*, *weed*, *tree*, *wheel*, *bee*, &c. (2) Hence some of the monastic writers call it in Latin "*Monasterium in Wigornæ castello*." [Heming, 169.] "*Episcopalis sedes Wigorniensis castri*." [Mon. Angl. tom. I. p. 138. Tanner's Notitia Monastica, p. 613. ed. 1744.]

* According to Dr. Wallis, our present numerals were not known in England before the year 1130. [Phil. Trans. No. 439. p. 136.] † Bishop Lyttelton's MS. note in p. 18, 19. of the Survey.

‡ Vol. II. p. clv. Worcester, Appendix. || Grosse's Antiquities, vol. IV. in Worcestershire.

§ Archæologia, vol. I. p. 142, Dr. Lyttelton's Dissertation. ¶ See his Itin. Curios. plate 23.

Norman Conquest, and gave way in a succeeding age to the present form of spelling,—Worcester; which the invention of printing has effectually established.

SECT. III.

OF THE COLLEGE, FROM ITS FOUNDATION TO THE TIME OF KING EDGAR.

THE church, which the Britons had in this place, had doubtless been rebuilt several years before Bosel was appointed to preside as bishop here. It was not a cathedral however, till A. D. 680, when Ethelred King of Mercia placed in it the chair of that bishop of the Wiccians, with the concurrence of Archbishop Theodore, who had consecrated him. (1) This church was dedicated to St. Peter, but in the next century was more generally called St. Mary's. (2)

Till about this time, cathedrals and the churches of monasteries were almost the only places of religious worship among the Anglo-Saxons. But now, churches and oratories were beginning to be erected in country towns. At these, no stationary priests were as yet fixed: all the clergy of the

(1) Heming places it in 670, [see p. 529.] but 680 is more consistent with the time of the council of Hatfield, where the division of this diocese was decreed. [Tanner's Not. Mon. p. 613. ed. 1744.]

(2) Heming, p. 322, &c. Tanner, *ibid*.

The church of St. Peter at Worcester it is most probable was built of stone, as it was still in being in the time of St. Wulstan, who sometimes kept his midnight vigils in it. [Angl. Sac. II. p. 247.] When, or by whom it was demolished, we have no account. It is even uncertain where it stood.

Stone buildings, even of churches, were in the seventh century very rare; it is said that about 680, Bennet, Abbat of Weremouth, master to venerable Bede, first brought artificers of stone houses and glass windows into this island among the Saxons, who had before constructed all their edifices of wood. William of Malmsbury has, however, carried this custom much farther back into antiquity: he states that the blessed Confessor Ninias, about the middle of the fifth century, built a church of polished stone in the confines of England and Scotland, which at that time was beheld as a miracle by the Britons, and that thence it had its name, *Candida Casa*, which Bede himself has noticed. [Beda, Hist. lib. iii. cap. 4. circit. an. 625. Hunting. p. 328.]

Cathedrals were generally the first built churches here, and were either founded by piously disposed princes, or by their respective bishops, assisted by the contributions of devout persons, for the honour of God, and the service of religion. They retained also great pre-eminence above other churches; the right of baptism and sepulture belonged anciently exclusively to cathedrals, which therefore were termed the mother church. [Staveley, p. 108. ch. 7.]

diocese lived with the bishop in one great family : he preached himself in his cathedral, and sent them out to preach in whatever parts of his diocese he pleased : they were his Sunday missionaries, and returned to the service of the cathedral during the other days of the week. All ecclesiastical dues throughout the diocese were remitted to the episcopal or mother church, and thrown into a common treasure; some part of which was assigned for the repair of the buildings, and the rest for the maintenance of the bishop and his college, and the enabling them to furnish entertainment to the traveller, and relief to the poor.

In the next century, the state of the clergy was greatly altered. Preachers were no longer itinerant. They were fixed in particular districts; and the ecclesiastical dues arising from those districts had, by the bishop's allowance, been appropriated to them. (1) Still it was necessary, that about ten or twelve priests should in every cathedral be kept, for the performance of the choral services every day, and the supply of all the canonical hours. These each diocesan was now well enabled to maintain, from the profits of those lands, which were frequently, by the devotion of Saxon princes, granted in perpetuity for the augmentation of their sees. These clerks lived with the bishop in a conventual way, near his cathedral. They were a fraternity of religious, though not tied down to the abstinence of the monastic life. The bishop was to them in the place of an abbat, to govern and instruct them : and in his absence, one chosen from their own body, under the name of *Præpositus*, or provost, was his substitute.

We have extant many charters, or copies of charters, made in the eighth and ninth centuries to the bishop and his family (as it is called) at Wigornaceastre, by royal or princely patrons. The viceroys of the Huiccii were considerable benefactors to them. Athelbald, Offa, Kenulf, Ceolwulf, Beornulf, Wiglaf, Berhtwulf, and Burhred, successive kings of Mercia, outdid the

(1) As Christianity prevailed, the lay nobles and gentry erected churches and oratories by degrees in every part of the kingdom, for the use of themselves and their tenants who were too distant from the cathedral to assist in their devotions. These they endowed for the maintenance of incumbents who were to reside and officiate in them. The rights of tithes, sepulture, and baptism were granted to them by the bishop, without which privileges they could only have been considered as chapels; but being confirmed in those rights, they also became rural parochial mother churches.

Collegiate and conventual churches were built mostly by the founders of those religious houses or societies to which we have found them annexed or belonging, such as abbies, or priories, and such as at present belong to colleges. [Staveley, p. 108. ch. 7.]

munificence of eastern Magi; (1) for they offered at St. Peter's altar entire villages, or manors, with their various lucrative appendages, their native bondmen, woods, fisheries, cattle, &c. Some of these territories were part of royal demesne, (2) and, as such, were conveyed with great immunities; (3) and for the rest an exemption from secular services was not difficultly obtained.

In these ages, moreover, the bishops had the superintendence of all the monasteries in their respective dioceses; and, when abuses were found in any of these religious societies, they could eject or transplant them, and appropriate their revenues to other monasteries, or to the colleges of their own cathedrals; or even could gratify rich laymen with a grant of the lands of the suppressed abby. Such steps indeed were not taken without the consent of a provincial synod, wherein the king and his principal thanes, as well as the prelates and many abbats, were present. (4) But in these assemblies the influence

(1) See Dugdale's Monasticon, from p. 121, to p. 136, and from thence to p. 140, a recapitulation of their lands and endowments.

(2) Croppethorn on the Avon had been a royal hamlet; perhaps a hunting seat of the Mercian kings. Offa has been reckoned the donor of this, and its fifty manses or farms, to the episcopal see. But the grant of it under Offa's name, A. D. 780, is manifestly supposititious. For we find from Hemingus, (p. 70.) that Croppethorn continued threescore years to be a place of residence for the kings of Mercia.

(3) The manner in which the supremacy of the ancient kings over the church is recognized, and the general form of all those cartularies by which the Saxon princes endowed the abbies and other religious establishments they erected in England, appear in the "Fundatio Monasterii Sancti Albani," which is given at large by Weever, in his Funeral Monuments, p. 97. ch. 14.

(4) The charters of our Saxon kings are generally witnessed by lords spiritual and temporal, and, as Sir Henry Spelman observes, the custom seems to imply a necessity of their consent to the disposal of the possessions of the crown; * the chief men also abiding at or near any place were chosen to be witnesses to deeds, to give strength and confirmation to the passing thereof. It is, however, curious to remark, that during the period from the seventh to the eleventh century, that by many charters granted by persons of the highest rank, and which are preserved, it appears that they could not subscribe their name. Several of these remain, where kings and persons of great eminence affix *signum crucis manu propria pro ignoratione literarum*. From this is derived the phrase of signing, instead of subscribing a paper. † They used no seals but the cross; and as whatsoever bore that sign was looked upon by them as sanctified, so they religiously and uniformly applied it as an amulet or preservative of their charters against injuries and evil minded persons. Where our Saxon ancestors sold or gave land absolutely, they usually did it verbally; but where they gave it in a special manner, as with a limitation of time, heirs, or how it should be employed, they did it by writing. The lands disposed of in the first manner were denominated *Folkland*; those sold in the last were called *Bokeland*. This division is found in the laws of Edward the Elder, cap. 2. ‡

* See his Works, part II. p. 233. Peck's Ann. of Stamford, lib. ix. p. 47. ex. Burton's Leicest.

† Robertson's Hist. Charles V. vol. I. p. 21, 22, ex. Du Cange, voc. Crux, vol. III. p. 1191. and note K. in 278.

‡ Spelm. part. II. p. 233.

of the bishops was very great: convents in favoured situations were augmented, while others were doomed to impropriation or suppression. Thus in Gloucestershire, the monasteries of Clive, Wythington, and Westbury; in Warwickshire, the monastery of Stratford upon Avon; in Worcestershire, that of Sture in Usmern, hodiè Kidderminster: the abbies of Kemesey, Bredon, Blockley, Deylesford, Hanbury, and Fladbury, were dissolved, or rather swallowed up in the see and college of Worcester.

Bishop Wilfrith obtained a synodal decree, that the monastery of Wudiandun (Wythington in Gloucestershire) should, after the death of the abbess, who then possessed it, be annexed to his see of Wegrin-cestre. (1) His successor, Bishop Milred, in whose time this monastery lapsed, made a fresh grant of it, A. D. 774, to Lady Æthelburga, abbess of a religious house at Worcester, on condition, that both this, and also her own monastery at Worcester, should, upon her death, devolve to the church and chair of St. Peter in that city. (2) And the bishop thought this no unreasonable provision, as it was the intention of her father Ælfred, (3) the founder most probably of her monastic establishment at Worcester, that the whole of that, with all appertenances, should be hers for life only, and pass in reversion to this cathedral church.

There is great reason to suppose, that the religious house at Weogernacetre, of which Æthelburga was governess, received, after her death, by the appointment of Bishop Tilhere or Heathored, Benedictine monks in lieu of nuns. Recluses of both sexes, as was the practice in very many Saxon monasteries, had been assembled here, under the government of an old maid: after her time, however, no other abbess occurs; and monks only seem to have possessed the convent of St. Mary.

The first mention of St. Mary's minster is in a charter of King Æthelbald, dated A. D. 743. (4) It was then probably a new foundation, under the noble abbess already mentioned. The grants of Uthtred, the Wiccian viceroy, and several of King Offa's charters to this monastery, are manifestly spurious: but there is less reason to doubt of several grants to it, made by the devotion of Mercian princes of the next century. The convent of St.

(1) Heming. Chart. p. 464, 465.

(2) Ibid. p. 467.

(3) This perhaps was that Ælfred, who was one of the principal nobles of Mercia in K. Æthelbald's time, and signs some of his charters. [Heming. Chart. p. 69. 219. 35.]

(4) Ibid. p. 56.

Mary, however, was in no capacity of being a rival to its neighbour, the college of St. Peter, before the days of Bishop Oswald and King Edgar.

That was the reign of monkery : the colleges of canons, or secular clerks, had then lost their credit. The popes had found it their interest to exact celibacy from the clergy, They incited the monks to raise an outcry against those, who, instead of devoting their whole time to spiritual employments, gave a part of it to the company of their wives, the dalliance of their children, and the cares of a family. Priests, that were members of cathedral colleges, had not as yet been restrained from marrying. Many of them had wives ; and what was almost held as criminal in that age, they had hawks, and dogs for game, and lived in such splendour and luxury, as was more mortifying than any rigours of Benedict's rule, to the poor Benedictines. A general opinion prevailed, that if the vast revenues of collegiate endowments were transferred from these secular clerks, into the hands of the monks, they would make a more religious use of them. The utter abuse of wealth in a monastery (of which succeeding ages had sufficient experience) was a sight not yet seen.

King Edgar found that he could not take a more popular measure than to worm out the secular clerks from their most opulent foundations, and to place monks in their room. Dunstan, his great favourite, whom he had promoted to the primacy of Canterbury, strongly incited him to this reform : Ethelwold, Bishop of Winchester, and Oswald of Worcester, were his principal instruments in the execution of it. (1) Ethelwold went with rapidity into the work, and dislodged the seculars from the old and new minsters of Winchester in the very first year of his consecration. (2) Oswald was more cautious : his first step was, his frequent attendance at the church of St. Mary, and performing of divine offices there : this artifice brought the crowd from the cathedral, for his reputation was high, and the people would flock any where to receive the blessing of so holy a prelate. (3) He found a fit tool in Cynsige, or Wynsige, one of the clerks of his college ; this man he made Circward, *i. e.* keeper or treasurer (4) of St. Peter's

(1) These three prelates are said to have ruled England under King Edgar. [Fuller's Church Hist. p. 131.] (2) A. D. 963. (3) Eadmer, de Vit. Oswald. Angl. Sacr. Pars II. p. 202.

[Malmsb. de Gest. Pontif. l. iii. fol. 153.] (4) Cyrc-weard. Sacriscriniarius, Ælfric's Glossary. The precious vessels, shrines, and records of the church were under his care.

church, in the room of Æthelstan, and he added to this the vicarage of St. Helen's, (1) (a very profitable preferment at that time, when no less than eleven parochial chapels were dependent upon it). To Wulfgar, another collegiate priest, he gave the church of St. Peter by the south wall; (2) and for his life, and two lives after his, the manor of Batenhale. (3) This grant was made A. D. 969: he found means to gain over so many of his canons, that no obstruction was made to the surrender, which, in that year, Wynsige as Circward, made of the keys of St. Peter's cathedral, and of all its emoluments, territories, &c. to the use of the monks (of St. Mary's) for ever. (4) Nay, out of the eighteen seculars, of whom the college consisted before, we find but two (Ælfred and Ælfstan) wanting in the subscriptions to Bishop Oswald's charters in the year 977. Ælfred had been a collegian in the time of Bishop Koenwald, and probably was dead in the interval between 969 and 977. Wynsige, and four of the other clerks of the college, actually submitted to the monachal discipline, and became regulars professed. (5) The rest were permitted to keep their stalls, and obliged to acquiesce in being subordinate officers to a society of monks. (6)

The grants of the lands of the see of Worcester by Bishop Oswald to his friends and followers, for life, or for three lives, imposed a sort of feudal tenure upon them, by which they were subjected to a variety of charges and services, as well civil as military, and these instruments were ratified by the king himself. The following are among the articles of obligation to which they were made liable, as contained in a charter intitled "*Indiculum Libertatis de Oswaldes-Lawes-Hundred*," as cited by Sir Henry Spelman, chap. 26. of his works, part ii. p. 41. "Feuds and Tenures," viz.

"His tenants shall perform all the duties of horsemen.

"They shall pay all dues, and perform all rights belonging to the church.

(1) Heming. p. 428.

(2) The present church of that name, situate in Sidbury.

(3) Heming. p. 137, 138.

(4) A. D. 969. Chartul. Wig. p. 530.

(5) Heming. p. 197.

(6) The number of seculars in this college at different periods of time, is easily collected from the subscriptions to the charters of lease granted by the bishop and his venerable family. One provost, seven presbyters, and a deacon, were consenting to a grant of Bishop Alhun in 849. A provost and fourteen clerks composed Bishop Werfrith's family in 872, and 889. Thirteen sign with Bishop Koenwald in 954. Bishop Oswald had at first eighteen: when two of these were dead or expelled, the addition of St. Mary's society (who seem to have been but ten) augmented his number to twenty-six. This was his complement from 969 to 982, when, from the sudden reduction of his number, I suspect five or six of his clerks might be expelled.

“ They shall swear to be in all humble subjection, and at the command of the bishop, as long as they shall hold lands of him.

“ That as often as occasion shall require, they shall present themselves ready to furnish him with horses, and ride themselves.

“ They shall perform all the work about the steeple of the church, and for the building of castles and bridges.

“ They shall fence the bishop's parks, and furnish him with hunting weapons when he goeth a hunting.

“ That in other cases, when the bishop shall require them, whether for his own or the king's service, they shall in humble subjection be obedient to the chief captain or leader of the bishoprick, for the fee granted, or benefit done unto them, and the quantity of land which every one of them possesseth.

“ That after the expiration of the three lives, the lands shall return again to the bishoprick.

“ That if there be any default in performing the premises, by reason that some shall vary or break the agreement, the delinquent shall make satisfaction according to the justice of the bishop, or shall forfeit the land which he had of his gift.”

The grants of Bishop Oswald, as extracted and chronologically arranged by Dr. Thomas (1) from Hemings' Chartulary, begin A. D. 962, and end in 991, during which period 190 hides of land were disposed of by him in seventy grants, of which thirty were made prior to the year 972, when he was promoted to the archbishoprick of York, and as he held Worcester in commendam, he added forty more to the number. During the latter period two grants occur in favour of two characters of some note in the church history of Worcester, viz. In 985 Archbishop Oswald gave to *Godinge*, a priest, three hides at *Bredicot*, and one yard-land at *Genenofre*, and seven acres of meadow at *Tiberton*, upon condition that he should be the amanuensis of the see, and write all things that should be necessary to be inserted in their registers. This service *Godinge* appears to have performed with ability, having written many books for them. (2) The other is a grant to his faithful man *Ælstan*, of one manse at *Ichington*, com. Warwick, in 991. He was

(1) See his Account of the Bishops of Worcester, from p. 41, to p. 48, inclusive.

(2) Ibid. p. 46. Hem. Chart. p. 139, 265, 266.

the father of St. Wulstan, Bishop of Worcester, and died a monk of this church. (1)

Upon the death of his kinsman Oskitell, the see of York becoming void, Oswald was thought a fit person to preside in his place, but he was not permitted to leave the see of Worcester, lest the new institution of the monks there should be endangered by being deprived of their patron. (2)

Oswald is farther said to have ejected the married clergy out of seven monasteries in the diocese of Worcester, and to have had their removal confirmed by the pope; a caution he found necessary, because in some places they had broke in upon the settlement of the foundation; of which the church of Worcester itself is an instance, having, as appears by the acts of the council of Worcester held under Wulstan, been originally furnished with secular canons. (3)

From this detail, it appears that the zeal of this saint of the monks had by no means the start of his prudence. There was no law to support him in a forcible expulsion, even of married canons, from his cathedral. He was wise in proceeding gently, till a national synod should enable him to act with greater vigour. Dunstan had laboured to obtain a synodal decree that might crush the married clergy. He had success at the council of Winchester in 975; where, as the monks pretend, heaven itself declared in their favour, by an audible voice from a crucifix which hung aloft in the room. The seculars were not to be convinced by such miracles that their marriage was a crime. They made great efforts at the council of Calne, in 978, to be restored to their colleges; but in vain.

There is a charter extant, under the name of King Edgar, dated at Glouceastre, Dec. 28, A. D. 964, which represents this reform in the minster or cathedral of Weareceastre, as then already accomplished; and speaks in strong terms of the expulsion of the clerks who had possessed it before; who chose, if this writing can be believed, to be degraded rather than to serve God canonically, and preferred their wives to their benefices. But this charter is of no authority; as Dr. Hopkins, who wrote the additions to Camden's account of Worcester, was sensible. Its spuriousness is clear from a great number of indubitable records of transactions between Oswald and the

(1) Dr. Thomas's Account of the Bishops of Worcester, p. 48. Hem. Chart. p. 126.

(2) W. Malmsb. p. 153.
Eccl. Hist. vol. I. b. iii. p. 191.

(3) Ang. Sacr. Pars I. p. 546, et Pars II. p. 202. Collier's

beneficiaries of his church. The members of the church were constantly called in to ratify these transactions by their consent and subscription. No change in their body appears till after the year 969; and then almost all the old members are continued, with the addition of several new ones to them. Wulfric, as provost, and five other priests, take precedence of Wynsige till after that year: (1) and yet, according to this charter, Wynsige had the priorship or government of this convent five years before. Ancient historians have said, that Edgar founded forty-seven houses for monks or nuns during his reign; and intended, if he had lived, to have increased the number to fifty: but this charter, most improbably, makes him the founder of seven-and-forty, even in the six first years of his reign. The piece of apocryphal history, that Edgar had subdued the greatest part of Ireland, which Mr. Camden reports solely upon authority of this instrument, decisively tends to confirm my opinion. (2)

The acts of Bishop Wulstan's synod may be depended on, which place the surrender of the cathedral and its endowments to the monks, in the year 969, and Indict. XII. From that time the church of St. Mary's became the cathedral of Worcester, (3) though, being erected for the use of a private society, it must have been quite unsuitable for that purpose.

In this church of St. Peter an episcopal throne had been established by Sexulphus, the last of the Mercian bishops, who placed in it secular canons so early as A. D. 680, eighty-three years after the see of Canterbury had been founded by St. Augustin.

In 983 Oswald, the great patron of the monks, completed the building of a new and more stately cathedral in the churchyard of the now neglected St. Peter's, (4) which he dedicated to the blessed Virgin Mary, and furnished with no less than twenty-eight altars. (5) The displacing of the

(1) Heming. p. 163. 214.

(2) In my opinion of this charter I am not singular: Bishop Burnet long since objected to its authority; merely from the superstitious mention it makes of the number fifty, the number of the years of pardon. Now the invention of jubilees, says the bishop, being much later than Edgar's time, gives occasion to believe this also was a forgery. [See his Abridgment of his Hist. of the Reform, vol. I. p. 147.]

(3) In a grant of Oswald's, dated anno 965, the episcopal chair is said to belong to the monastic convent of the Virgin Mary. But the names of the subscribers shew, that the date is erroneous. Æthelstan was not then primus; nor Oswald as yet archbishop. The date should undoubtedly be 985; at which time the monastery consisted of those very members who appear at the bottom of that charter.

(4) Heming. p. 188.

(5) From a memorial in the first or east window of the south ile of the choir, in which King Edgar

secular canons, or married presbyters, from St. Peter's cathedral, a measure which had been for some time in a gradual progression under the management of Bishop Oswald, was, on the opening of his new church, finally completed, and the cathedral of St. Mary, which from that time became the cathedral of Worcester, was filled with monks, to the utter exclusion of the secular clergy. (1)

During the building of this new cathedral, and before, this bishop was wont to preach to his crowded audiences in the open area by St. Peter's church, taking his stand near the cross (2) that was erected over the stone monument of Duke Wiferd and his lady Alta, (3) who had been considerable benefactors to that church. This monument, which is said to have been a work of admirable art, was taken down by Archdeacon Alric, in the time of King Edward the Confessor, in order to enlarge the choir of St. Peter's. Duke Wiferd's monument appears to have been at the end of the High-street; for, a mile being measured from it northwards, another stone pile with like carvings, was erected at the mile's end, which was called the White Stane, (4) and gave name to a district or tithing, without the city, called Whitstanes to this day.

and St. Oswald were set out as supporting the cathedral church; and from these words of the charter, "Monasterium amplificavit," it is conjectured by Mr. Abingdon that Edgar and St. Oswald joined in the foundation of the monastery. [See Abingdon's MS. p. 6. And in the Appendix to Sect. IV. No. V. p. xiii.]

Ednoth, a monk of Worcester, was sent by Bishop Oswald to direct the building of the abbey of Ramsey, in Huntingdonshire, finished A. D. 974, founded by Ailwin, Alderman of all England, as he is called (Hist. Ramesiensis, cap. 20. p. 399. inter XV. Scriptores, edit. per Gale.) This Ednoth most probably afterwards directed the building of the cathedral of St. Mary at Worcester, founded by St. Oswald, and for which service he was in process of time made Bishop of Dorchester. [Dr. Thomas's Account of the Bishops of Worcester, p. 50.]

(1) W. Malmsb. de Gestis Pont. l. iii. p. 154. Angl. Sac. tom. II. p. 202.

(2) In the elder ages, in some places before they had a church built, our Christian ancestors were obliged to perform divine service under a cross, in some open and convenient place, instead of a church; such was originally the custom at St. Paul's cross, in London; and the practice was continued there on special occasions till the Reformation. It is on this account singular, that Stow in his Survey, fol. 357, professes "that the original, or antiquity of Paul's cross was to him unknown." [Staveley's Hist. of Churches in England, chap. 7. p. 102. See also Dr. Thomas's Account of the Bishops of Worcester, p. 21; and Pennant's London, 2d ed. p. 370.]

(3) Heming. p. 342.

(4) Id. p. 343.

SECT. IV.

OF ST. MARY'S CATHEDRAL AND MONASTERY; WITH THE HISTORY OF
THE FABRIC, TO THE TIME OF THE REFORMATION.

THE new cathedral, raised and dedicated by Archbishop Oswald, would not have perpetuated his name, if he had done nothing else that was memorable. It could not escape in the conflagration of the city, which was abandoned to the cruelty of Hardicnute's soldiers, in the year 1041. (1) But the ravages of fire on a stone edifice might be soon repaired. The improvements in architecture, which the Normans introduced, brought Oswald's structure into contempt. What is now called the Gothic architecture was then approaching to its perfection; the art of vaulting roofs with stone, in angular compartments, and the fashion of adorning blank walls with batons, horizontal and columnar, and arches interposed, luxuriant in their mouldings, (2) were now becoming the familiar practice of the architects of churches; the pointed arch, the tracery work, the ornamented columns, composed of small toruses, were so skilfully diversified in their application, and displayed on a scale of such magnificence that astonished and captivated the beholder. Bishop Wulstan had a magnificent spirit; he was determined to leave posterity proofs of it. He accordingly in 1084 laid the foundation of a new church, and in the year 1089 he finished both that and the monastery, which was now called "Monasterium S. Mariae in Cryptis." (3)

(1) W. Malmsb. p. 83. Flor. Wig. sub anno.

(2) The Saxon architecture, which continued with little alteration near one hundred years after the Norman conquest, was a debased, corrupted, Roman stile. The Gothic stile did not come in till Rich. I. or King John's reign, and it is far from certain that it was brought from Palestine. [Bishop Lyttelton's MS. note on the text.]

Dr. Wilson also strongly controverts the opinion of Sir Christopher Wren on this ground, who had derived its origin from the Holy Land; * and Mr. Ledwich disallows it in toto. "Time (says he) has revealed its errors; no such Saracenic works exist in Spain or Sicily, or in any other place to which the Arabian power extended. And that there are enough of the productions of ancient art, to evince that the pointed arch was known and used many centuries before the Gothic power was established, or the romantic expedition to the Holy Land commenced." †

(3) Heming. p. 521; Tanner's Notitia Monast. p. 614.

If I rightly understand a note of Dr. Hopkins, the bishop carried on his building westward, as far as

* Ornaments of Churches considered, p. 92.

† Observations on Ancient Churches, Archæol. vol. VIII. p. 190, 192.



James Angell delin.

N.E. VIEW OF WORCESTER CATHEDRAL, 1789.

J. Johnson sculp.

To the Honorable and Reverend the Dean, and the Reverend the Chapter of Worcester
 This Plate Presented by them to the Most Excellent His Majesty's most
 Excellent humble Servant



Valentine Green.

London, Published by V. Green Decemr. 1791.

The building of churches was much forwarded by the indulgences granted by the popes, in the middle and dark times of the hierarchy. Dugdale, in his History of St. Paul's, London, has given us a copious catalogue of the number and nature of those indulgences, which were granted for building and repairing of that cathedral. The like provident powers were granted to Joffrid, Abbat of Crowland, to enable him to rebuild his abbey in 1112, (1) and to Bishop Poore, when he built Salisbury cathedral, in 1220. (2)

It does not appear, however, that, on the occasion of the building of this cathedral by St. Wulstan, any of the means we have mentioned had been resorted to, or that he received any assistance in carrying it into execution. The example set by him, in offering upon the altar of his new church, when he opened it, the manor of Alveston, (3) which he had recovered of the Conqueror, at a great expence, and another gift of lands of considerable value, the deed of which Wulstan himself, about four months before he died, offered up to God on the altar of St. Mary, on the day of her nativity, A. D. 1093, (4) did not stimulate to similar acts either royal or private benevolence.

the first, or great cross ile of the present church; which ile seems to have been the ante-temple, or narthex, in the ancient structure. So that we owe to him the noblest part of the present cathedral: a better monument of him, than any shrine which the superstition of his successors could raise. [Willis's Mitred Abbies, vol. II. p. 262.]

(1) See Camden, in Lincolnshire. Staveley's Hist. of Churches, ch. vi.

(2) Price's Description of Salis. Cath. p. 5. "The great south yslc of Gloucester churchc was made by oblations done at the tombe of Kynge Edward the second." [Leland's Itin. vol. VIII. p. 64.]

(3) The manor of Alveston in Warwickshire, which formerly belonged to the episcopal see, had, for some time, been in the hands of powerful laymen: this bishop obtained, for a sum of money, the restitution of it from William the Conqueror; and on Whitsunday, A. D. 1089, in the first year after the commencing of divine services in the new minster, he made upon its altar an offering of that manor, to the perpetual use of the monks of his church.* "Anno ingressionis nostræ in novum monasterium, quod construxi in honore Dei genitricis, primo." Such are the words of the charter. And yet the laborious Dr. Thomas, in whom such slips are not frequent, tells us, on the authority of this instrument, that Whitsunday of the year 1089, was the time when the monks were removed into their new monastery and church; and that the grant of Alveston was presented on the altar the same day. See his Survey, p. 3. and his Account of the Bishops, p. 87. The word Monasterium, was indifferently used in that age, either for the buildings in which a society of monks was lodged, or for the minster, *i. e.* the conventual church: and seems to be used in this grant for the latter. From this charter we learn, that on his accession to the government of the convent, he found in it scarce more than twelve monks; but had now augmented their number to fifty.† The stile of this charter, which is given at length in Dr. Thomas's edition of Dugdale, vol. II. p. 674, is as noticeable for its solemnity, as for the piety of its purpose.

(4) Hem. Chart. p. 421, 422, 423, 424.

* Heming. p. 418.

† Paulo plusquam duodecim.

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The only instance at all similar to that custom, which occurs in the church history of Worcester, was during the prelacy of John Barnet, bishop of this see, who, A. D. 1362, following the example of other dioceses, ordered, to the praise of Almighty God, the blessed Virgin, St. Oswald, St. Wulstan, and All Saints, that in all parochial churches throughout his diocese, the priest every Sunday, after sprinkling of the holy water, should enjoin the people to kneel, and pray for the brethren and sisters, the benefactors of his cathedral church, and of the fabric thereof, saying a Pater Noster, an Ave Maria, and some other collects; and to all that should do this, or should give any thing to the fabric, or confraire of the said church, he granted forty days indulgences. (1)

The ceremonies anciently used in the founding of a church, were, as in modern times since the Reformation, many and various; but their dedication to saints was entirely dependent on the will of the founder, who selected which he pleased, or, as was most likely, that which he himself had chosen as his patron saint. The minor are often joined in those dedications with the higher order of sanctified persons, as in this instance: "To Mary, the holy mother of God, the blessed Apostle Peter, and to the Saints Oswald and Wulstan." But to the saints or martyrs, as to the objects of their adoration, the practice is disclaimed; to God only was the offering made, and by this solemn and public act, that right which the founders might have in the places of devotion thus erected by them, was renounced and assigned to God as the owner, and for ever given up for the purposes of his holy worship. (2) The days of the anniversaries of those saints, to whom churches were thus dedicated, were kept as festivals, and were also honoured with great privileges, confirmed by the sanction of ancient laws. (3) Wakes are the common name by which they are known; their devotional observance has been wholly superseded by sports and pastimes, till the clamour of the puritans against them, as remnants of popery, in 1627 and 1631, induced orders to be issued for their suppression. They are still, however, to be found in the midland and northern parts of the kingdom. (4)

It is related of Bishop Wulstan, that upon seeing the workmen employed in

(1) Dr. Thomas in Ap. No. CVII. p. 120, 121; and Acc. of the Bishops of Worcester, p. 182, 183.

(2) Durandus, Rationale Divinorum, lib. i. cap. 6. fol. 13. (3) Int. Leg. Edw. Confes. cap. 3.

(4) Dr. Thomas's ed. Dugd. p. 682, 683, vol. II, in which the ancient ceremonial of consecrating churches is also given, see p. 647.

pulling down the old church, he wept. One of his attendants expostulating with him, and reminding him, that he ought rather to rejoice, as he was preparing in the room of it an edifice of greater splendour, and more proportioned to the enlarged number of his monks; he replied, "I think far otherwise; we, poor wretches, destroy the works of our forefathers, only to get praise to ourselves; that happy age of holy men, knew not how to build stately churches; but under any roof they offered up themselves living temples unto God; and, by their examples, excited those under their care to do the same; but we, on the contrary, neglecting the care of souls, labour to heap up stones." (1) On the finishing of his new church, he caused the relicks of St. Oswald to be inclosed in a new shrine, prepared for that purpose, and solemnly deposited them therein, on the twelfth of October the same year, at the expence of seventy-two marks of silver, or about forty-eight pounds of the present money.

Of the fabric of St. Mary's cathedral little has hitherto been said. The silence of writers on a subject so replete with curious matter, is only to be accounted for by the want of authentic materials to make a satisfactory narrative of the progressive stages of its building, till it had finally become, through a succession of ages, and through various hands, that venerable and extensive structure we behold it at this day. By whom, in what manner, and at what periods, since the time of St. Wulstan, this edifice has been carried on to its present general appearance, is in this place my design to examine.

In order to assist in the discussion of this subject, the principal events relative to the fabric of the present cathedral will be stated in chronological succession, after recapitulating,

First. That the ancient cathedral of St. Peter was probably raised as early as the time of the foundation of the see itself, viz. A. D. 680; a period marked by the numerous instances of religious houses, which the munificence of the princes, the piety of the nobles, and the devotion of the prelacy of that age, erected and endowed. Of the last order we find, that Egwine, the third Bishop of Worcester, A. D. 702, began building the famous abbey of Evesham, and that he, after resigning this bishopric, in 710, became its first abbat. We may, therefore, place the building of St. Peter's cathedral at Worcester,

(4) Malms. lib. iv. p. 160.

between the years 680 and 690. This church, as we have already said, was still in being in the days of St. Wulstan.

Secondly. That St. Mary's minster, or convent, at Worcester, was founded in the beginning of the eighth century; this convent, after the death of the abbess, Æthelburga, who governed it A. D. 743, became a monastery, to which the endowments of St. Peter's cathedral were surrendered in 969, and from that time the church of St. Mary became the cathedral of Worcester.

Thirdly. That, the church of St. Mary having been erected for the use of a private society, and not being suitable for the purposes of a cathedral, St. Oswald began a new one, which he built in the churchyard of St. Peter's, completed, and dedicated it to the blessed Virgin Mary, in 983.

Fourthly. That St. Oswald's cathedral was destroyed by Hardicnute, A. D. 1041, and

Fifthly. That St. Wulstan began building the present cathedral A. D. 1084, and finished it A. D. 1089.

There are few examples to be found among our ancient churches, in which such a variety of stile of building is combined as in the cathedral of Worcester; and it has proved from thence an object of no small difficulty to divide and arrange those parts of which it is composed, and which vary so much in the time of their erection, and also in the mode of their construction.

The form of the eastern part of the cathedral, as built by St. Wulstan, is that of the cross, and its principal entrance was at the west end, from a vestibule or porch, which now forms the great cross ile of the nave, on a plan similar to that of the chapel of New College, Oxford.

On the internal face of the west wall of the north and south transepts of that ile, there is no trace of any aperture that could serve as a principal entrance, nor indeed is there in any other part of this first church; here then most unquestionably the western boundary of St. Wulstan's fabric was terminated, and its grand approach provided.

From this ante-temple, or narthex, of the original cathedral, the entrance to its nave (the present choir) was under the rood loft, where now the organ is placed. Two descents into the crypt were then open; the one under the present ascent to the north ile of the choir, the stone steps into which are still visible within it; and the other, now in use, and remaining under the ancient ascent, through the great Saxon arch into the vestries on the south.

This Saxon arch, at the west end of the vestry, formed a collateral entrance into the cathedral, from the present great cross ile ; a like arch was provided on the north side, to correspond with it in appearance, leading to the ancient lodgings of the sacrist. The confined extent of that appendage to the church, which never could have gone eastwards beyond the first window of the north ile of the choir, together with its situation, shew it to have been erected for a peculiar and select service. As the office of the sacrist was the care of the church and its furniture, it is probable this might have formed the treasury of its sacred vestments, and vessels for the service of the altars. A small balcony of stone, with glazed windows, and a flight of stone steps, descending from it within the wall, underneath which was a door of communication with the church, now closed up, formed a part of the plan on which it was constructed, and are still visible in the wall, between the entrance of the north ile of the choir, and near to the first window. (1) It might also have served as a vestry for the bishop, separate and detached from those of the subordinate clergy, a provision not uncommon in episcopal churches. (2)

That this church had a principal tower at the time of its first erection, is to be gathered from Mr. Abingdon, who says,—“ in 1175 the *new tower* fell down ; ” (3) and also from the account in the Worcester annals, of the destruction of its *two lesser towers*, by a storm. (4) The situation of the first was most probably over the centre of the upper cross ile, supported by the four massive pillars, which now encompass the area of the communion table, or high altar. And the sites of the two lesser ones seem evidently to have been at the two extreme north and south ends of the great cross ile of the present nave ; a supposition well warranted by the stile of building of those transepts, being so totally unlike any other part of the whole fabric ; a circumstance resulting from the necessity of an immediate repair, for the church had no other accessible entrance than in that part of it which was become ruined by the fall of those towers. Without reference, therefore, to precedent in stile of architecture, we find this part of the church supplied

(1) See the plan of the cathedral, reference O.

(2) This building, which at the Reformation was appropriated to the use of the first prebendary, was taken down, and the Saxon arch closed up in the beginning of the present century.

(3) Abingdon's *Antiq. of Worcester Cathedral*, p. 3. Willis's *Mitred Abbies*, vol. I. p. 302.

(4) Anno 1222, about the feast of St. Andrew. *Annal. Wig. Dr. Thomas's Survey*, p. 5.

with a specimen of building belonging to no age or sort then in use, and wholly dissimilar to what had either preceded, or since followed it, throughout the whole fabric, and which may thence safely be pronounced the mere fancy of the architect.

THE CRYPT.

We can have little hesitation in adopting Bishop Lyttelton's opinions respecting the antiquity of the crypt. (1) Crypts, or undercrofts, are certain evidences of the high antiquity of those cathedrals in which they are found; as that of St. Faith, under old St. Paul's, London, Canterbury cathedral, and St. Peter's, in Oxford, &c. (2) It is observable also, that they are found in the most select and dignified situations in our ancient churches, uniformly bespeaking their uses to have been of the most sacred kind. The primitive Christians were necessitated to assemble themselves, not in the fittest and most convenient, but in the safest places, such as the state and temper of those times would permit, to avoid the persecutions which awaited them whenever they were discovered in the act of worshipping God after their own manner. For their greater safety they sometimes congregated *sub dio*, in the open fields; at others, *subter terram*, under the earth, in caves and vaults; the remains of many of which are still to be traced in the famous catacombs in Rome. In these they used to assemble at their devotions, bury the bodies of their martyrs and confessors, and frequently held their councils. In memorial of these ancient subterraneous places of worship, many of our cathedrals have those crypts or vaults under their choirs; which by the Germans, in whose principal churches they are very frequent, are called *kruft*; and by us *croft*, *undercroft*, or *vault*. (3) In many churches on the continent they are called *martyrdoms*, and *confessionaries*. Some also have conjectured that crypts were the remains of either Saxon or British churches, and that they have been embosomed within the present structures, from a veneration of their having been the places sanctified and consecrated to God, by the piety and devotion of their forefathers, in the first ages of Christianity. It appears that many of these crypta have had their distinct and peculiar dedications, as at Canterbury and London; that they were furnished with chapels and altars anciently

(1) See his letter to Smarte Lethieullier, Esq. in the preface. (2) Weever's Fun. Mon. p. 324.

(3) Staveley's Hist. of Churches in England. chap. 3. p. 26, 27.

set apart and dedicated to particular saints; and also that they were appropriated to obituary services, and that the most distinguished and eminent characters among their saints, martyrs, confessors, princes, (1) bishops, and founders, have had interment in them, as in the most sanctified part of their respective churches. We have, however, no trace of the dedication of the crypt in the cathedral of Worcester to any of the saints of the Romish calendar, nor even of a single altar, by which we might find that it had ever received such a distinction. And there appears but one item of any part of it having been used for obituary purposes; and that occurs on the south side, nearly opposite the entrance of the vault from the great cross ile of the nave. This part, which seems to have been separated from the crypt at large, as a kind of chapel for this purpose, is immediately under the east or second vestry, and of nearly the same dimensions. On the north wall of this inclosure, in a sort of recess, are still visible three coats of arms, of the family of Clare, Earl of Gloucester, some of whom may probably have been buried there. (2)

A general uniformity may be perceived in the position of most churches, being built length-wise, east and west, with the tower or steeple at the west, and the chancel at the east end, representing the sanctum sanctorum, where the symbols of divinity were placed, and from thence communicated.

The ancient catechumeni, at their baptism, when they renounced the devil, they turned their faces to the west; but when they pronounced the creed, they turned to the east. (3) In these formulæ it is easy to trace the eastern adoration adopted into the Christian system.

The sculptured decorations, with which this ancient part of the cathedral was originally embellished, consist of a series of ornamented arches pointed at their tops, which runs under the foot of the lower tier of windows, beginning in the bishop's chapel, or north transept of the cross ile, and con-

(1) Edward the Black Prince had a chapel founded to his memory in Canterbury crypt. [Somner's *Antiq. of Cant.* by Battely, p. 97.]

(2) See the plan of the crypt (fig. A) which is introduced in the plate of that of the cathedral, parallel to the situation it occupies beneath the choir. Under a drawing of the ichnography of this vault, in the library of the Society of Antiquaries, (not very correctly made) the following note is subjoined: "This is the form of the ancient basilicas at Rome, particularly Constantine's, which was the model on which the earliest Christian churches were built." It is certain that Rome is famous for its catacombs, or subterraneous repositories for the interment of their illustrious dead.

(3) See the *Diatribes* of Jo. Gregory, notes. cap. 18. Staveley's *Hist. of Churches*, chap. 10.

tinuing entirely round the Lady's chapel, ends in the corresponding transept on the south side, now called the Dean's chapel. On the intermediate planes or spandrels between those arches, which are supported by pillars attached to the walls, is a curious and regular arrangement of ancient sculpture, representing a great variety of subjects, many of them grotesque, others of the history of the foundation of the church, and others of scripture history. Of the latter classes a few of them may be described. Of those, however, in the Bishop's chapel, no certain account can be adduced of their design; a great proportion of the grotesque, and a still greater of obliteration and decay, renders inquiry respecting them fruitless. The same may also be said of that part of this work which formerly extended along the extreme east end of the Lady's chapel, where in many parts it may be traced, but where also it has been mutilated and destroyed, to make way for the monuments now seen there. At the east end of the north side-ile, over the second pillar, and beneath the second window, a bishop is represented mitred, kneeling, and offering a church on an altar within the compartment; above, and behind him, a dove is seen descending, expressive of the spirit by which his piety is actuated, as is also the favour of heaven towards his devotion, by an angel with extended arms, ready to receive it at his hands. This subject was probably meant either for St. Oswald, as founder of the first cathedral church of St. Mary, which event the respect of Wulstan thus chose to commemorate; or it was designed for himself, to the same purpose, with regard to the present church. Over the three next pillars in order, are the annunciation, the visitation, and the nativity.

The first intelligible subject which occurs in the south side-ile, after passing several grotesques, is on the last spandrel to the west, under the second window. An angel is there represented as appearing to a devotee, and enjoining him to some act of piety. The succeeding subject explains what that act should be. He is there instructed, that to build a place for the worship of God would be the most acceptable service; and in consequence, the next represents him delivering his plan to an architect, to carry it into execution. The two last subjects alluded to are over the first and second pillars beneath the third window. Following the course of this work into the Dean's chapel, on the south wall, we find Christ sitting in judgment, represented in one of those compositions: in another, the resurrection of the dead; and in another, on the west side, the wicked delivered

over to eternal punishment, entering the mouth of hell, which is figured as a monster, whose capacious jaws are opened to receive them as his prey. (1)

Among the various ancient masks dispersed through this part of the church, many of their characters are well conceived, and as well executed. Over the great Saxon arch at the west end of the vestry, in the roof, is a half length figure, represented reclining its head on the right hand; which from the character of the face, and the pensive posture it assumes, appears to have been meant for Christ, as an *Ecce Homo*. In a parallel situation, over the arch of the south side-ile of the choir, are the mutilated remains of a seated figure, which, from the staff it yet holds, seems to have been designed for some pastoral character, either of a bishop or an abbat.

Respecting those sculptured figures, we find at the west end of this portion of the church, all of them directing their looks eastward, they may be considered as very strong evidences that the extreme western boundary of St. Wulstan's sanctum sanctorum was formed at this line or division of the present cathedral; for it is to be observed, that all the other heads or masks, applied as ornamental brackets, are made to look across the ile, at the opposite or corresponding head or mask; among which are found those of kings and bishops, with too great a sameness of character about them to become objects of much attention.

(1) The ancient sculptures of this kind found in our churches, the example under consideration, and a similar one in Westminster abbey, which was carried round its cross iles, may be considered as certain evidences of the early age in which they were erected. The mixture of the historic with the hieroglyphic and the grotesque sculptures, appears to have been a refinement upon those examples of the two latter sorts in the crypts at Oxford and Canterbury, of which species these evidently are, at least so far as relates to the allegory they contain.* If the crypt at Canterbury be anterior to the Christian era, and that it is the remains of an Iseum, or Roman chapel sacred to Isis, as suggested,† we become at once reconciled to the ingenious explications proposed, and are improved by their erudition. But seeing the same objects presented in churches of later date, without any of the same reasons for their appearance, we are led to consider some of those in no other view than as the vagaries and idle fancies of the sculptors, or at best but as mere imitations of what they had probably either seen or heard of at Canterbury, Oxford, or elsewhere. For the motives that are said to have induced those representations in the former instances, can hardly be supposed to influence the mere decoration of other churches built four hundred years afterwards, and much less so if the crypt at Canterbury had really been a heathen temple, and erected still so much earlier than the ancient cathedral.

* See *Archæologia*, vol. I. p. 151. on St. Grimbald's Crypt at Oxford, by Mr. Theobald, and vol. VIII. p. 176. on that at Canterbury, by Mr. Ledwich; who also observes, that grotesques were mostly confined to crypts, and thence got their appellation. [Ibid. p. 80, note (a)] † Ibid. p. 179. The undercroft at Canterbury was founded antecedent to the year 742. [Angl. Sac. vol. I. p. 75.]

To these internal embellishments is only to be added the foliage in the capitals of the pillars, most luxuriantly wrought, and the cheveron-work, or zig-zag moulding, the most general manner of ornamenting the arches of that age, found traversing those of the choir only. These and the *corbel-table* ornament, extending entirely round the external part of this building, immediately under the parapet, form the entire suite of decorative appendage known to the venerable founder.

LEADEN STEEPLE.

Immediately opposite the north transept of the cross ile of the Lady's chapel, a clochium was erected, in which the bells, anciently but five, were placed. These bells had been newly cast, and were consecrated, some of them to the Saviour and his Mother; Hauteclere and his compeer, to St. John the Evangelist. (1) The base of this cloche was eight sided; the height of the stone work was sixty feet, equal to the battlement of the cathedral; the diameter of the base was sixty-one feet; the thickness of the walls ten feet. (2) On this base stood a spire, wholly covered with lead, fifty

(1) "The scripture apou the iiij bells in the leddon stepull."

The furst bell—"Campanas dia serves has Virgo Maria."

The 2^d bell—"Cristus vincit. Cristus regnant. Cristus imperat. Cristus nos ab omni malo."

The iiij^d bell—"Johannes Lyndesey, hoc opere impleto, Christi virtute faveto."

The iiijth bell—"Ave Maria gratia plena Dominus tecum."

The clock bell—"Thomâ Mildenam Priore."

"En Ego Campana, nunquam denuncio vana;

Laudo Deum verum, plebem voco, congreco clerum."

Funera plango, - { Men's deaths I tell
By doleful knell.

Fulgura frango, - { Lightning and thunder
I break asunder.

Oblata } pango; - { On Sabbath, all
Sabata } To church I call.

Excito lentos, - { The sleepy head
I raise from bed.

Dissipo ventos, - { The winds so fierce
I do disperse.

Paco cruentos." * - { Men's cruel rage
I do assuage. †

(2) St. Wulstan, whilst he was prior of this church, inter 1051 and 1062, built a tower for the bells; most probably this base, on which the spire was afterwards raised. Ang. Sac. p. 474. Willis's Abb. v. I. p. 306.

* From the archives of the dean and chapter of Worcester. † Fuller, in his History of Abbeys, sect. 2. b. vi. p. 301, has given this rhiming translation of the Latin inscriptions, which he says have sometimes been found on sets of six bells, but which it appears have been collected into one for the clock bell at Worcester.

yards high; from which circumstance it obtained the name it was afterwards known by, viz. the Leaden Spire. The whole height of the base and spire was seventy yards. The weathercock was on a level with the former spire of St. Andrew's church, which was seventy-seven yards high. The timber work of the leaden spire was all of Irish oak, not sawed, but wrought with the axe. (1) The ceremony of the consecration of the bells was performed in 1220, by William de Blois, then Bishop of Worcester. (2) Tradition has said, that this spire, with two others at York, were built by King John; but this report has no certain foundation. In Strype's Annals of the Reformation, I. p. 402, it is said to have been built by King Henry III. (3)

The new cathedral suffered more than once by fire, in the ages subsequent of its erection; but at each reparation received addition of ornament and splendour.—June 14, A. D. 1113, when the city and castle were burnt, the church and monastery were involved in the same calamity. One monk, two servants of the convent, and fifteen citizens perished in the flames. (4) The walls of the church had little damage; as we may collect from the silence of William of Malmsbury, who particularly mentions the destruction of its roof, which was undoubtedly of wood.

On Wednesday night in Easter week, April 17, A. D. 1202, the church was again abandoned to all the injuries of a conflagration; which had its rise in a different quarter, (5) and reduced to ashes first a great part of the city. After this misfortune, it was long before the cathedral was repaired. It was not consecrated anew till June 7, 1218, when in the presence of King Henry III. and a great assembly of nobility, bishops, abbats, and knights, Bishop Sylvester dedicated it to Mary, the holy Mother of God, the blessed Apostle Peter, and the Saints Oswald and Wulstan: in particular, the great altar was dedicated to St. Mary and St. Oswald; and the middle one to St. Peter and St. Wulstan. (6)

The church was now restored: but William de Blois, the next bishop,

(1) Ex Chartris W. Hopkins, D.D.

(2) Ab. Hist. Worc. Cath. p. 3.

In the year 1647, the leaden steeple adjoining to St. Michael's church was pulled down, and the materials sold for £617. 4s. 2d. the principal part of which was given to repair several churches damaged during the civil war. Dodderhill had £80. Castle Morton £80. and the rest in proportion. [Dr. Nash, Introduction, vol. I. p. 38.]

(3) Jan. 16, 1539. The four bells in the leaden steeple were taken down, broke, and carried away. [Bishop Blandford's MS.]

(4) Flor. Wig.

(5) Igne conflagravit alieno. [Annal. Wig.]

(6) Ibid.

appears to have formed a nobler plan, that of enlarging and extending it. Accordingly, in 1224, he laid the foundation stone of a new work, designed for the front, (1) or nave of the church; an improvement he had undoubtedly seen the propriety of adopting, to complete Wulstan's plan, and to which the recent accident that had befallen its original front most probably stimulated him.

We are now come to that portion of the cathedral which may properly assume the distinction of what is generally termed the modern Gothic stile of architecture. The skill evinced in attaching this magnificent appendage to the ancient church is abundant and striking, and forms one of the many instances in the Gothic taste, on which we can contemplate with satisfaction, without a dread of meeting with the barbarisms of the less refined structures of the earlier ages, and in which both the delicacy and the impressive grandeur that form its true characteristics are most judiciously united and preserved.

The ruined parts of the great cross ile were at its north and south ends only; the west side or front of it was supported by flying buttresses, one of which, attached to its south-west side without, is still clearly to be traced, arising from between the two first windows from which the south wall of the nave commences. Of its companion buttress on the north side no appearance remains. But we are attracted by the ingenuity of the architect in his management of the double buttresses within, corresponding in respect of form and height with the one just mentioned. The shaft of the inner buttress on the south side has been transformed into the first or easternmost pillar of the nave, and the lower part of its curve, arising from the capital, forms the western limb of the first arch, from the apex of which it is continued, and intersects two arches of the first series of arcades above, and joins the south-west column which supports the tower, parallel to the spring of the transverse principal arch of the nave to the east. The shaft of the second, or outer buttress, forming the second pillar, its curve in a parallel direction with the first, traverses both the lower and upper arcades, and joins the supporting column of the tower in a proportionately higher part. The corresponding buttresses on the opposite side of the great ile are pre-

(1) *Inceptum est novum opus frontis.* [Annal. Wigorn.] In old writers, the western end of a church is usually called its front; with respect to which the north and south sides were considered as wings, *alæ*: whence the modern term, *ails*, or *iles*.

cisely of the same construction and dimensions, with this only difference in the outer one; the lower part of its curve, apparently discontinued over the second arch, is seen only to arise from the foot of the upper arcade over the first pillar, from whence it reaches the supporting north-west column of the tower. In this manner were those lofty and projecting buttresses, (originally on the outside of this west front of the ancient church), incorporated with, and made a part of, those noble ranges of columns and arches which form the magnificent nave of the present cathedral.

An object occurs at the west end of this additional building, which has given rise to much conjecture, and it has remained to the present time undecided, why the two lowermost arches of the present nave should be, as they most unquestionably are, of so much older construction than any other part of it, or indeed, as may easily be believed, even older than any other part of the whole church, and yet constituting a portion of the most modern of the additions which have been made to it. It is among my duties to attempt a solution of this problem.

That we are not warranted, by any account or record whatsoever, to say that those arches formed any part of St. Oswald's structure, is fully allowed: yet the stumbling-block which Dr. Thomas incautiously put in our way, in his endeavouring to ascertain the locality of that structure, by stating that the present cathedral was begun by St. Wulstan "a little to the south of the old one," being so entirely and completely removed, we are thence emboldened in our conjectures to conclude, that those arches really did form a part of St. Oswald's building, from the following reasons:

First, it is not probable that those arches could have been a part of the ancient church of St. Peter, which had barely survived till the days of Wulstan; for although in the time of St. Oswald it had been the episcopal church, it cannot well be imagined to have been of the dimensions proportionate to those arches, with their superstructure, which are very little short of the height of the present nave; an elevation much exceeding all examples of the age in which St. Peter's church was erected.

Secondly, the church of St. Mary's monastery, which, prior to the building of St. Oswald's, had been the cathedral of Worcester, appears much more likely to have been the *Old Church*, which, with its monastery, Wulstan ordered to be pulled down, when he removed his monks into his new monastery, as stated by Malmsbury, than that of St. Oswald's church;

the remains of the latter, although in ruins, could not so properly be termed *old* in the days of Wulstan, as either those of St. Peter's or St. Mary's churches: and we have some authorities to say, that Wulstan's work was but a repair of St. Oswald's church. It behoves us also, that we should dispose of the two old churches of St. Peter and St. Mary, which certainly were situated near the present cathedral, as appears by St. Oswald's church having been built in the churchyard of St. Peter's, before we entirely destroy the more modern work of St. Oswald's structure. That both of them sunk when Wulstan's arose, and that many of their remains now form parts of those ancient substructures, on which some of the present prebendal houses are raised, and on which some of the offices of Wulstan's monastery were constructed, need not be questioned. But it is not probable, that either of them would survive any relics of St. Oswald's cathedral, which had been erected but one century before it was destroyed, and in a stile, as may be supposed, much more nearly approaching that of St. Wulstan's, than either of those very ancient churches could be thought to have been.

Lastly, it is not easy to conceive the use to which an insulated building of this kind could be applied, consisting of two arches only, surmounted by two others, and accompanied with the same number in the collateral aisles to the north and south, with their vaultings and roofs complete, and furnished with two tiers of windows strictly appropriated to the form and fashion of the church architecture of the Saxon era, unless we admit it to have been part of such an edifice, which most evidently was the fact. From its form and dimensions (the first of which so well agreeing with its present use, and the last, particularly in its altitude) it is sufficiently demonstrable that its erection must have been little anterior to the Conquest; and although it be older than the eleventh century, and therefore not belonging to Wulstan's building, yet with still less certainty can it be placed in either the seventh or eighth centuries. As, therefore, it cannot be a part either of St. Peter's, nor of the ancient church of St. Mary's monastery, it necessarily follows that this portion of the present nave is an authentic vestige of St. Oswald's cathedral, and which survived the vindictive outrage of the Danes in 1041.

We are hence not only irresistibly led to this conclusion, but also persuaded that Bishop Blois first connected those remains to the present church, by his introduction of the intermediate arches of the nave, between them and the

great cross ile. And in this persuasion we are still more strongly supported in observing externally the difference of the stone work of which those arches are formed, and comparing it with that of Bishop Blois's work: the last is wholly of the red Ombersley stone, whilst the first is of the same stone of which the east end of the church is built, none of which it appears was ever used in any of the additional buildings belonging to the cathedral subsequent to Bishop Blois's time. (1)

In many of our cathedrals, it appears that the nave was an addition made to the original structure in succeeding ages. The cathedral of Canterbury, which had been destroyed by fire, A. D. 1174, according to Gervase, a monk of that church, and an eye witness to its destruction, was rebuilt in ten years; (2) but it was not till two hundred years afterwards that the nave was added to it: the church of Worcester had that addition made to it one hundred and sixty years before that of Canterbury, and nearly the middle of the second century after its erection, by St. Wulstan.

It is not easy to ascertain how many examples of this kind in other churches Bishop Blois had to follow, nor whether he proceeded upon any plan which Wulstan had laid down, or left to his successors, on which his church should afterwards be completed. A variety of circumstances, however, concur to establish the latter proposition as a fact, and as such marks this part of the cathedral as an object of singular curiosity to the attentive examiner.

First, the attention that Wulstan's architect appears to have bestowed upon those ancient arches of St. Oswald's church, in placing his structure in the precise line of their direction, and that so justly, that but for those in the side iles being a little lower in the elevation of their roofs than the rest with which they are now connected, the whole series might be said to have been raised at the same time.

(1) It must, however, be admitted that the two lowermost arches of the north ile, in the internal appearance of their vaulting so much alike to the rest of its preceding arches, and so unlike to the two in the south ile, that they would seem rather to have been of Bishop Blois's raising; or at least that Bishop Cobham, when he vaulted the upper part of that ile, had effected the uniformity of appearance their roofs now have to the others; but I conceive the fact to be, that this reform was effected by Bishop Wakefield, to render his work the more complete; he was, however, prevented from availing himself of the same advantage in the arches of the south ile by the buildings adjoining to the dormitory, which had been erected over them, preceding the finishing of his work in this part of the cathedral.

(2) Duncombe's Hist. of Cant. Cath. p. 148.

Secondly, the proportions and subdivisions of the principal portions of the church between the extreme points of distance of the east end of the Lady's chapel, and the west end of the cathedral, including the ancient arches, appearing from accurate measurement so correctly to correspond with certain other divisions of it, to which they are compared, confirms the belief that the whole fabric, although the work of different ages, is the result of one regular and systematic plan, laid down and founded on the measures of the area of those ancient arches, which were in existence one hundred and one years prior to any other part of the present cathedral, although not united to it till two hundred and ninety-six years after St. Wulstan had finished his building. (1)

Thirdly, it appears that the plan of the double cross on which the cathedral, as we now see it, is constructed, was adjusted, and its several proportions affixed and combined with each other by the ingenuity of Wulstan's

(1) For a full illustration of the preceding remarks, see the Diagram of the Cathedral in the Plate of its plan, fig. B, in which the *relative proportions* of its foundation, beginning at the west end, are found to occur as follow, viz.

I. The area of the Saxon arches from east to west, being 45 feet : is equal to one-fourth of the length of the nave, viz. 180 feet.

II. The length of the nave being 180 feet : is equal to the distance from the west end of the choir to the great east window, viz. 180 feet.

III. The breadth of the great cross ile, in its north and south transepts, being 32 feet : is equal to one fourth of its length from north to south, viz. 128 feet.

IV. The same : is equal to the breadth of the great window, viz. 32 feet.

V. The distance from the west side of the great cross ile, to the pillars on the west side of the upper cross ile, being 120 feet : is equal to the length of the upper cross ile, viz. 120 feet.

VI. The length of the choir, from its west entrance to the steps at the ascent to the altar, being 90 feet : is equal to one half of the length of the nave, its whole length being 180 feet.

VII. The length of the Lady's chapel, from the east end of its side iles to the west side of its cross ile, being 74 feet : is equal to the breadth of the Lady's chapel, viz. 74 feet.

VIII. The breadth of the two side iles of the Lady's chapel, and of the choir, each 18 feet 6 inches, being in the whole 37 feet : is equal to the breadth of their respective middle iles, viz. 37 feet each.

IX. The depth of the recess of the great east window, from the collateral ends of the side iles of the Lady's chapel, being 16 feet : is equal to half the breadth of the window, its whole breadth being 32 feet.

X. The distance from the great east window to the pillars on the east side of the upper cross ile at the back of the altar, being 60 feet : is equal to one half of the length of the upper cross ile, its whole length being 120 feet.

XI. The height of the stone work of the tower, from the floor of the great cross ile (over which it arises in the precise centre of the cathedral) to the points of its pinnacles, being 196 feet : is equal to the whole length of the nave (180 feet) added to the half of the breadth of the transepts of the great cross ile (16 feet), total 196 feet.

architect, who, notwithstanding he raised only the east and choir part of the fabric, and perfected only its upper or lesser cross, at the same time projected its lower or great cross, which he applied as a vestibule to his church ; in effecting of which he most judiciously and correctly designed the whole of its relative dimensions in that curious order of regular arrangement, that each cross now occupies its respective extent of space on its own scale of proportion, and, although raised at different periods, and formed to stand independent of each other, they are yet found so united and combined, as to compose that most dignified of distinctions in ancient church architecture, the double cross, perfect and complete in all its parts. (1)

(1) The following *relative proportions* occur in the arrangement of the double cross, on which the plan of this cathedral was laid.

The upper or lesser cross, erected by St. Wulstan, it appears, is governed in its proportions by the measure of 60 feet, thus varied and applied :

The head, formed of the distance between the great east window and the pillars at the back of the altar (*a*), contains 60 feet.

The body, formed of the distance between the west side of the upper cross ile (*b*), and the west side of the great cross ile (*c*), contains 120, or twice 60 feet.

The arms, formed of the length of the upper cross ile, contain also 120, or twice 60 feet.

The lower or greater cross, completed by Bishop Blois, is regulated in its proportions by the foregoing measure of sixty feet, being augmented in its amount to ninety feet, that scale is thus applied to its construction :

The head, formed of the length of the present choir, from its west entrance (*c*) to the pillars at the ascent to the altar (*b*), contains 90 feet.

The body, formed of the length of the nave (*d, e*), contains 180, or twice 90 feet.

The arms, formed of the length of the great cross ile, contain 90 feet, and the following fractions of the same measure, viz. one-third, or 30 feet, and one-sixteenth, or 8 feet, total 128 feet. [See the Diagram of the Cathedral, in the Plate of its plan, fig. B.]

“ It was the fashion (says Mr. Essex) to apply the name of Gothic to every irregular or disproportioned building ; and strange as it must appear, the noblest of our old cathedrals, and other ingenious works, have been no better esteemed than the productions of a rude people, who were ignorant of all the principles of designing, and the art of executing. But under whatever denomination the conductors of those noble fabrics may be placed, whether we call them Goths or freemasons, we must acknowledge that the stile of building which they used, was brought to a more perfect system by them, than the Greek or Roman has been by modern architects ; and that the principles on which it was founded were unknown to the greatest professors of architecture since the Reformation, is evident from the attempt of Inigo Jones, Sir Christopher Wren, and others of inferior abilities, to the present time, who have endeavoured to imitate it without success. But we are not to conclude that the conductors of those stately fabrics had no principles to direct them, because these great men did not discover them ; for if any one who is properly qualified, will divest himself of his prejudices in favour of the mode of building which fashion has made agreeable, and impartially examine the merits of those Gothic buildings which are perfect, he must acknowledge, that the ancient freemasons were equal to our modern architects in taste for

These points surely attach too strongly to judicious arrangement and contrivance, and have too much of ingenuity in their application, to be supposed the offspring of mere chance. On the contrary, I conceive that they present a most decisive and convincing evidence of a regular and connected plan on which the whole fabric was intended to be completed, and the ancient remains of St. Oswald's cathedral united to it to make all its proportions perfectly accord, as we now find they do, with the utmost exactness

designing, (agreeable to the mode of their times) and superior to them in abilities to execute; that they perfectly understood the nature and use of proportions, and knew how to vary them when they wanted to produce a striking effect. The Gothic, like the Grecian architecture, has its different orders or modes, and every order its peculiar members, by which it may be distinguished from the rest; and the whole is regulated by just proportions founded upon geometrical principles, as capable of demonstration as those of the Greek or Roman.*

"The structures of our Saxon churches were gloomy, heavy, and confined; their roofs and lights, which were lattised, were small and mean; their walls without buttresses, and their columns thick and massy, consequently the whole was dark and damp; their entrances were by descents inwards, and the arches drawn over the top gradually declining with the steps. The Norman plans for building our ancient churches were laid out at first, not the work of a few years, but left to succeeding ages to finish. They were usually begun at the east end, or the choir part, and when covered in, were consecrated. They were large, sumptuous, and magnificent, of great length and breadth, and carried up to a proportionate height, with two, and sometimes three ranges of pillars, one over another, connected together by various arches, forming thereby a lower and upper portico. Their roofs and windows were high, large, stately, and lightsome, and their entrances formed by ascents; the whole possessing an air of solemn grandeur, which never failed to inspire reverence and awe into every beholder.†

"Arches and pillars were in use in the early Saxon structures, but the Normans are said to have introduced the mode of stone buildings raised upon arches. The church of Worcester is admitted as one of the most early instances of the practice: its vault or crypt having given occasion to its being called the church of "St. Mary in Cryptis," in many of its ancient records.

"The stile of what we term the modern Gothic architecture, but which more correctly speaking, should be called the Saracenic refined by the Christians, first appeared in Britain towards the latter end of the reign of Henry the Second, and gained complete footing in the succeeding reign. It was then that the circular gave place to the pointed arch; the massive column yielded to the slender pillar, and many ancient and solid buildings erected in former ages were taken down, to be re-edified in the new taste, or had additions made to them of this mode of architecture.‡

"The fashionable pillars in our churches during the same reign, were of Purbeck marble,§ very slender and round, encompassed with shafts a little detached, so as to make them appear of a proportionable

* Archæologia, vol. IV. Art. XIII. p. 149. Observations on Lincoln Cath. by Mr. Essex, *ibid.* Art. VII. p. 108, 109.

† Staveley's History of Churches. Bentham's Ely.

‡ No part, however, of St. Wulstan's cathedral appears to have received any of these reforms, unless it be the two arches at the west ends of the north and south isles of the choir. These were probably round Saxon arches, similar to the adjoining ones on the north behind Bishop Hough's monument, and on the south in the vestry.

§ A stone, said to be a congeries of shells, from a quarry in the isle of Purbeck, now worked out.

and precision. The projecting of this plan appears also to have provided for the certainty of covering the whole of the ground originally occupied by that church, the interesting ruins of which, from their stile of building and situation, the pious founder was persuaded would so far bespeak the favour of posterity, that his successors at some future period would unite them to his own work, and thereby perfect his original design. (1)

thickness ; these shafts had each of them a capital richly adorned with foliage, which clustering together formed one elegant capital for the whole pillar. The long, narrow, sharp pointed windows, of the lancet form, and usually decorated with marble shafts, are also said to be of the same age.*

“ The smallness of the windows, and the consequent darkness of our Saxon churches, are supposed to have been owing to their not having been skilled so well as the Normans in the art of making glass : the improvement in the appearance of the Norman churches was certainly much benefited by the advantage they had of better furnaces, to make their glass not only larger, but clearer.†

“ The windows in the time of Edward II. were greatly enlarged, and divided into several lights by stone mullions running into various ramifications above, and dividing the head into numerous compartments of different forms, as leaves, flowers, and other fanciful shapes ; and more particularly the great eastern and western windows (which became fashionable about this time) took up nearly the whole breadth of the nave, and were carried up almost as high as the vaulting.”‡

(1) The suggestion contained in Browne Willis's prefatory epistle to Dr. Tanner, in the second volume of his History of Abbies, respecting the dimensions of our cathedrals and other large conventual churches, advances but little towards adducing any useful insight into the principles of their construction, neither are the comparative dimensions found but in very few particulars to agree with the rule he recommends to be applied to certain parts of their plans, by which other portions of their elevations are supposed by him to have been governed. But although those means have failed, future researches after those principles may probably be assisted from the result of the *relative proportions* found to exist in so many of the principal sections of the plan of this cathedral. Beyond this boundary, however, I pretend not to advance : the application of the principles on which the foundation of this church is formed to the proportions of its superstructure, and their immediate or remote dependencies on each other, together with their various bearings and combinations of strength, by which the whole structure has been cemented so firmly, as to have stood thus inflexibly the test of time through so many ages, is left to the professors of architecture to develope and compare.

* Of this fashion is the addition made by Bishop Giffard, of the small shaft or columellæ representing grey marble, which are of artificial stone, fastened by rings of gilt copper to the originally unadorned columns of the choir, the Lady's chapel, and the whole series of windows in this ancient part of the cathedral. [Leland's Itin. vol. VIII. p. 127.]

These, however, have not shared the fate of those of which they are but imitations, for they still remain firm and entire, whilst the columellæ raised in other churches being formed of long pieces of marble, cut horizontally from the quarry, and having been placed in perpendicular situations, have split asunder and broke to pieces, which was the supposed cause that this sort of architectural embellishment was laid aside in the next century.

† Strutt's Manners and Customs of the Anglo-Saxons, vol. I. p. 34, 35.

‡ Bentham's Ely p. 40. Norman Architecture.

In the constructing of the nave by Bishop Blois, we perceive that he had planned the principal entrance of the church to be continued at the west end, for on the north no access whatsoever was provided to it; and the two entrances on the south side were exclusively for the use of the monastery. The ancient arch or west entrance into St. Oswald's cathedral was still in being, and of that advantage it was Bishop Blois's plan to avail himself, and to make the whole of that ancient part of the church serve as a vestibule to the new nave. In this state, together with the defects and incongruities arising from a dissimilarity of the whole internal appearance, and a want of uniform connection of the old with the new work remaining, Bishop Blois left the west end of the cathedral. (1)

It was doubtless soon perceived that light was wanting, more sufficiently to illumine the extent of the nave. The Saxon windows (probably two or three small ones) which had originally served the purposes of this part of the ancient church, were insufficient to dispel the gloom that must have pervaded the extended length of the church westward, and through which the beauty of the whole nave was destroyed. This defect, however, could not be wholly overcome but by raising the vaultings of the *iles* internally, and more especially that of the middle *ile*, and uniting it with the new vaulting of the nave, which was elevated so much above the level of the Saxon arches. This is that part of the reform made by Bishop Wakefield, to which Leland adverts, "*Superior pars basilicæ forsan id temporis aucta, &c.*" as cited by Bishop Lyttelton, and replied to by Mr. Garbet, in their remarks on this operation, as already stated in their letters, given in the Preface.

In the year 1380, under the auspices of Bishop Wakefield, these ornamental and useful reforms were undertaken and accomplished: the ancient arches were completely attached to the new work of Bishop Blois, and the great west window was opened. (2) It is to be remarked of the erecting of this window, that it is always stated as a distinct operation from all the

(1) He left it not, however, without some provision for carrying on the work he had so spiritedly begun. William de Beauchamp III. hereditary constable of Worcester castle, paid £75. as his relief for lands held by his family under this see, to the Bishop William de Blois, who dying soon after, bequeathed it, with £200. more to the finishing the fabric of the church. [Ann. Wig.]

(2) As in Rochester cathedral; the great west window of which was enlarged to its present dimensions by destroying part of the walls on either side of it. The other windows of its nave were enlarged in the same manner. [Hist. of Rochester, p. 59, 60.]

others in the accounts of the improvements of the church by Bishop Wakefield, and in such a way as clearly indicates that it was formed in a part already built. This noble and useful improvement had nothing of Saxon in its design, although constituting a portion of a Saxon arrangement; on the contrary, it was one of those magnificent windows which the Normans brought in to our churches, and without reference to its Saxon situation, was more judiciously composed to correspond with that in the east end of the church, and totally different in its construction to either the end or the side windows of the two collateral arches, which are the original windows built by St. Oswald, and evidently of a more ancient stile than any other throughout the whole cathedral.

The opening of this magnificent window, it is probable, suggested the expediency of closing the entrance beneath it, which, together with its being so far removed from its ancient situation prior to the building of the nave, and the approach to it withal so circuitous and inconvenient for the congregation, from the narrow and confined pass between the cathedral and the charnel house, the present north entrance or porch was erected and opened opposite the centre arch of the nave, in 1386; a situation that at once provided an access suitable to the magnitude and dignity of the structure to which it led; commodious in its approach to the city and the episcopal palace, and a ready and direct communication with its cemetery, and the chapel of the charnel house, to which it was contiguous. The ancient west entrance to the cathedral was in consequence finally closed up. (1)

The operations at the west end of the cathedral having been so completely effected by the munificence of Bishop Wakefield, that prelate might (as has been heretofore often stated) with seeming propriety be said to have added those two arches to it, by having thus rendered them fully conformable to the rest of the nave, in the manner already related, both in their appearance and in their uses; but by no means can he be considered as the founder or builder of those arches, as I trust has already been satisfactorily proved. The cathedral has, however, been equally benefited by his liberal attention to its improvement in this part of its structure, for the more this reform is

(1) The situation and dimensions of that entrance are still visibly denoted, externally, by the appearance of a spacious, but low arch, filled up with stone work; and internally by a handsome blank Gothic arrangement, executed in wood, expressive of the original purpose of that part of the church, and set up in 1756.

contemplated, the greater cause we find to applaud it, as a most judicious and provident measure, in adding or connecting so substantial a work to its extreme west end ; by which the strength of the whole edifice has been greatly augmented, and its durability and security most essentially assisted.

As a great number of bodies interred on the outside of St. Wulstan's building, must be dug up in the prosecution of Bishop Blois's plan of adding the nave to it, he provided a subterraneous vault for their reception, over which he raised a chapel, called *Capella Carnariæ*, or the chapel of

THE CHARNEL HOUSE ; (1)

and which, in another respect, proved a great convenience to the monastery. In the earlier ages, the cathedral and its cemetery were the common places of interment, not only for the city, but also for the principal families of the adjacent country : they were now become crowded with their dead. But on the opening of this crypt, the bones that were occasionally displaced on the preparing of new graves, were also deposited in this general sepulchre ; a practice not objected to, under the persuasion of participating in the spiritual advantages to be derived from the devotional purposes of its chapel, in which, on its foundation, three chaplains were maintained to perform daily services for the souls of those whose remains were deposited there.

Walter de Cantelupe, successor to Bishop Blois, confirmed the work begun, dedicated the chapel on its completion to God, St. Mary, and St. Thomas the martyr, in whose name and honour it was built ; and A. D. 1265, gave it a new institution. He appointed four chaplains for its service, to be continually resident in it ; one of which was to be perpetual master, chosen by the bishop, and was to provide for the expences of the chapel. The sacrist had the care of its repairs. The duties of these chaplains commenced in the morning, on the sounding of the first bell in the city. They celebrated one mass for the day in the chapel, before their teaching in the schools began, and afterwards three others were daily celebrated for the dead. (2)

On the third of the ides of April, 1287, Bishop Godfrey Giffard made an augmentation to the chapel of the charnel house, ordering six priests to officiate there instead of four ; and for their maintenance, appropriating to

(1) Strype, *Annal. Reform.* vol. I. p. 402.

(2) See Dr. Thomas's *Account of the Bishops*, p. 134, and in Appendix, No. XLIII. p. 26.

them the church of St. Helen in Worcester ; and on the fifth of December following, the church of Newenton, in Cotswold.

Upon this new endowment, Hugo de Walingeford, the master, promised the bishop to release unto him and his successors, their right and title to the yearly rent of ten pounds, out of his manor of Hembury, in Saltmarsh, and to give up the writings belonging to the same, which we may suppose he did, for in 1298 the bishop restored to them that ten pounds a year also. (1)

In the reign of Richard II. it being found that the rents appropriated for the support of the establishment were insufficient, and that the building was going to ruin, the king's licence was obtained to put the charnel house and the chantry under the care and superintendence of the sacrist of the cathedral, who was to repair the building, and to provide a chaplain to perform the offices of the chapel, and daily to celebrate mass for the souls of the deceased bishops and their successors.

In the 37th of Henry VI. the charnel house received new grants and a new foundation. By the statutes then formed, the sacrist of the cathedral (to whose office it was still annexed) was to maintain in the charnel house one chaplain, to celebrate mass in the chapel ; he was to be a bachelor of divinity, and to have the custody of the library and books therein ; he was also to read publicly in the chapel, once or twice a week, a moral lecture on the New Testament, or, according to the discretion of the bishop, deliver a sermon in the cathedral, or at the cross in the same churchyard, on every Friday for ever. This deed is dated the last day of September, 37th Henry the VIth, witnessed by Bishop Carpenter, William Vause, archdeacon, and others, and confirmed by the chapter. (2)

(1) Dr. Thomas's Account of the bishops of Worcester, p. 141. See also his Appendix, No. LXI. p. 45. ex. Reg. Giff.

(2) Abingdon's MS. p. 33, 37. " Upon the dissolution of the priory of Worcester, the chapel of the charnel house, with other chapels, churches, and appertenances of the priory, were vested in the crown. Amongst other things, this chapel, with all within the circuit of the sanctuary, 24 Jan. 1542, King Henry VIII. endows the dean and chapter of Worcester, by letters patent, which were confirmed 1 Edw. VI. cap. 14 ; and 1 and 2 Phil. and Mary, cap. 8.

" Anno 1578, Nov. 25, 20 Eliz. by virtue of their foundation and charters of endowment, the dean and chapter granted the chapel of the charnel house unto John (Whitgift) Bishop of Worcester, together with the house and priest's chamber,* at the west end thereof, for twenty-one years, if he should so long continue Bishop of Worcester, at the rent of 6s. 8d. Upon Bishop Whitgift's promotion to the archbishopric

* Erected temp. Henry VI.

About the time of Bishop Giffard we are to date, I presume, another considerable change in the internal arrangement of this church. In primitive cathedrals, the principal altar was near the eastern end, with only the bishop's throne behind it. When the doctrine of transubstantiation was afterwards introduced, a natural consequence of it was, that the host was an object of adoration, and as such should be exhibited in a part of the church the most

of Canterbury, it was granted, Feb. 9th, 1586, to Roger Folliott, of the city of Worcester, gent. for 40 years, at the same rent; with a covenant that the dean and chapter should have and take all the lead belonging to the said charnel house. This lease determining in Feb. 9th, 1626, Bishop Thornborough afterwards used it as a hay barn.

“By an order of the chapter, held Oct. 29th, 1636, the chapel was prepared and fitted up as a school for the scholars of the college and city, and on the 18th March following, on a hearing of differences between Bishop Thornborough and the dean and chapter, and the mayor, aldermen, and citizens of Worcester, before Archbishop Laud, his grace decreed that the school should be kept in the chapel. This decree was observed till 1641, when the differences were renewed, and a complaint made from the city of the damp and unwholesome smells of the charnel house, that were prejudicial to the health of the scholars. These were collectively brought before the parliament in May, 1641, and the school was afterwards removed to the refectory, and the chapel from that time suffered to go to ruin. In the Survey of the manor of Guesenhall, fol. 91, the chapel of the charnel house is declared to be in so ruinous a state, from its roof being uncovered, its walls in danger of falling, its inside so incumbered with weeds and rubbish, and its floor overgrown with alder trees, as to threaten destruction to the roof of the vault beneath; and a part of it also made use of as a workhouse for masons, stone-cutters, and labourers, by whom it was so defiled as to become a common nuisance. June 28th, 1676, a lease was granted of the two chambers and garden ground to James, Lord Bishop of Worcester, for 21 years; who, in consideration of faithful service done to his lordship, and to the episcopal see of Worcester, by John Price, B. L. surrendered the lease into the hands of the dean and chapter, to the use of the said John Price, 23 Nov. 1677. The dean and chapter on the 25th Nov. 1677, accordingly granted the ruinous charnel house, except the vault, with the tenement at the end of it, and the garden ground adjoining, to the said John Price, with a power to take down the walls of the charnel house to the stools of the windows, and to employ the materials in inclosing the garden ground, with a free use of the floor of the chapel for a passage to the tenement, for 40 years, at the yearly rent of 6s. 8d.

“By virtue of that lease, those conditions were fulfilled by the said John Price, and a new house was erected by him upon the ground whereon the old tenement stood; and he became tenant to the dean and chapter for it, at the yearly rent of 6s. 8d. under a new lease granted to him, dated 25th Nov. 1679. Those premises therefore still belong to the cathedral church of Worcester, as before the dissolution.”*

The only vestiges of the chapel that remain, are part of the north and south walls, which now inclose the court before the abovementioned house; but the crypt, which is underneath it, and bounded by the same walls, and extending the whole space of the court, remains entire; its length is 58 feet, its breadth 22, and its height about 14. It contains a vast quantity of bones, which, although now in some disorder, seem to have been curiously assorted, and piled up in two rows along its sides, leaving a passage between them from its west entrance (which was closed at the time the chapel was demolished) to its east end. The only entrance at present into it is by one of its windows on the south side, but it is generally stopped up. [See the plan of the vault, in the Plate of that of the cathedral.]

* Ex MS. J. Price, B. L.

elevated and conspicuous. Hence it became necessary, that, in the largest and most frequented churches, the high altar should be placed in the centre of a cross ile ; so that, at the elevation of the host, the crowds in the transepts on each side, the women especially (1) (who were excluded from the choirs of the monks) might have an opportunity to see and adore. (2) This conveniency was attained, in some places, by the addition of a new cross ile at the east end of the choir, and of a new chapel beyond it ; as at Gloucester, Ely, St. Paul's in London, Litchfield, Croyland abbey, &c. (3) and in other places, by removing the choir so far westwards, that its chancel and altar might lie open to a cross ile of the church. This last method appears to have been taken at Westminster abbey ; and, as some circumstances induce me to think, in Worcester cathedral also.

In the due consideration of this object it is absolutely necessary that we should wholly detach our ideas from the present arrangement of the Lady's chapel, the choir, and the great cross ile, as we now find them ; these originally formed the whole of the cathedral, as built by St. Wulstan. But

(1) We are told, that anciently women were prohibited from entering into the monastical church of St. Cuthbert, at Durham, beyond the blue cross, in the pavement at its lower end ; the prohibition is attributed to the miracle wrought by St. Cuthbert, upon a lewd woman that would have slandered him, by charging him with incontinency. [Rites and Monuments of Durham, Camd. Brit. in Durham. Staveley, p. 281, 282.] The story as related in the legend, is copied at length by Grose, in his Antiquities, vol. I. But it seems this inexorably chaste saint had not forgot his resentment against the sex from the time of his death, A. D. 687, to the time of Edw. III. a period of 650 years.

Philippa, queen of Edw. III. having followed the king to Durham, was conducted to him through the gate of the abbey to the prior's lodgings ; where, having supped and gone to bed, she was soon disturbed by one of the monks, who rudely intimated to the king, that St. Cuthbert by no means loved the company of her sex. The queen, upon this, got out of bed, and having hastily dressed herself, went to the castle for the remaining part of the night, asking pardon for the crime she had inadvertently been guilty of against the patron saint of their church. [Angl. Sac. vol. I. p. 760. Brand's Hist. of Newcastle, vol. II. p. 408, 409.] The prohibition of the women extended to all the churches of the Picts, dedicated to St. Cuthbert, by an ordinance of the king of that province, whose daughter it was that had traduced his character. [Antiquities of Durham Abbey, 12mo. p. 38, 39, 40.]

(2) Nor was this sufficient. The synod of Reading, held in 1279, required a tabernacle to be placed over the altar, under which the host, deposited in a handsome pyx, might be suspended. Thus the eucharistic wafer, cased in a box, became an object of daily adoration to all who frequented the service of the church.

(3) In all these places, the new fabric, for lengthening the church eastwards, was raised in the reign of Henry III. Edward I. or Edward II. and, in all of them, except Ely, was dedicated to the particular service of the Virgin Mary ; who, in these ages, began to be called Regina Cœli. In the charter of the foundation of Bordesley, in Worcestershire, by the Empress Maude, for Cistercian-monks, dedicated to the most blessed Virgin Mary, she is stiled Regina Cœlorum. [Monast. Angl. vol. I. p. 803. Epitom. p. 96.]

those parts were then known by other names, and had other uses assigned to them. There was at that time no such division in this church as the Lady's chapel. That portion of the church, at the time we are now treating of, was the ancient choir, extending from the great east window to the western pillars of the upper cross ile, where now are the steps, to the present altar. From that division to the west end of the present choir, was the nave of the ancient church, to which the ascent was from its vestibule, the present great cross ile. Such was the cathedral of Worcester, when it was for the last time nearly consumed by an accidental fire in 1202. The subsequent repairs it received, were carried on very slowly; they were not completed A. D. 1216, when King John was interred in this cathedral, in its original choir, between the Saints Oswald and Wulstan, and before its high altar, at that time placed under the great east window. It was not till two years afterwards, that the church, being restored, received consecration anew, viz. on the seventh day of June, 1218.

From hence I conceive we may gather, that, in the interval between the interment of King John, and the reconsecration of the church, the change we are here speaking of took place, when the eastern part of the middle ile, beyond the screen of the present altar, was converted into a stately chapel to the Virgin Mary, who, in almost all the large conventual churches, had a peculiar chapel in the middle ile, either at the east or western end. (1) The appointment of a daily mass to be sung at her altar, and of

(1) In the year 1292, 5 id. June, Nicholas, the sacrist, adorned the church with tables of images, placed on each side of that of the Virgin Mary. [Willis's Mitred Abbies, vol. I. p. 303.]

The image of the Virgin here mentioned was probably set up in her chapel.

Mr. Bentham has produced sufficient authority to prove, that what we generally term the chapel of a particular saint in a church, is no other than the porticus; which term has constantly been applied to the porch or entrance into the church. The highest authorities are cited, to support the conjecture, that a more considerable part of the church is certainly intended by porticus, than what is commonly understood by the church porch: and it is clearly inferred, from all the instances he has produced, (and they are many and strong) "that the writers meant by it, either what is now called the side ile of the church, "or sometimes it may be a particular division of it, consisting of one arch with its recess;" which are often termed chapels, and dedicated to some saint. Of this sort we may presume was Jesus chapel in this cathedral. The ancient Kentish kings, and the first archbishops of Canterbury, from St. Augustine to Brithwald inclusive; Earl Leofric and his Countess Godiva, and many others, are therefore more reasonably conjectured to lie within those churches, where their interment was expressed to have been in the north or south porticus, a word synonymous with atrium or vestibulum, denoting a building withoutside the church, at the entrance into it, which is generally translated by the English word, porch. [Bentham's Ely, p. 19, 20.]

We may conjecture from hence, that the custom of burying in churches was permitted and practised

particular priests for her service, began to take place in the thirteenth century.

In dedicating an altar to the Virgin, we may well suppose that altar to have had the most dignified situation in the portion of the church now set apart for her worship; it took place, therefore, of the high altar of the ancient choir, under the great east window of her chapel, where it remained till the dissolution of the monastery. The distinction here made of the *great altar* being dedicated to St. Mary, is to be understood as compared to the adjacent altars placed at the east ends of the collateral side iles of that part, now collectively called the Lady's chapel, which at that time were devoted to other saints, and had each their peculiar services.

The middle altar, dedicated to St. Peter and St. Wulstan, points out its own situation in relation to the surrounding ones; this unquestionably was the choral, or high altar of the cathedral.

In this transfer of the sacred offices of the church it was considered that the royal remains of King John partook of the reverence paid to the Holy Virgin, and that they had received additional sanctification, in being left undisturbed before her altar, and between the sepulchres of the Saints Oswald and Wulstan.

On the separation of the ancient choir from the original nave of the church, an inclosure was formed of the area of the four sectional pillars of the upper cross ile, the stone work of which was faced with a series of small arcades, extending entirely round its north and south sides, and its east end; an embellishment which it appears to have had both within and without; for in 1792, on removing the two inner pilasters of the centre of the present altar screen, to admit the picture which now occupies that part, those arcades were discovered, and parts of an inscription were observable in the spaces between those small pillars; but too much divided to be connected, or satisfactorily explained. This range of the arcades is most probably entire. On the outside, at the north end of the altar, the mutilated remains of those small pillars are visible; their derangement in this part was occasioned by the erecting of Bishop Bullingham's tomb, (1) and on

at a more early period than what some authors have stated, and whose accounts would lead us to imagine, that it had obtained, by degrees, from the cemetery to the outer walls of the church; from thence into the porch, or entrance; and, lastly, into the church itself.

(1) At that time the wall above it, within the arch, was raised, to secure a dangerous failure in the

the south side by the building of Prince Arthur's chapel. The form and dimensions of those small pillars within and without are precisely the same, and, when entire, must have formed a very beautiful termination of the choir, from its uniformity, and the simplicity of the Gothic mode of decoration.

We are here attentively to notice, that before this inclosure was effected, the east end of the crypt, which prior to that time had formed the western extremity of the ancient choir, was a visible object to that part of the church, its circular end presenting itself to view between the two pillars west of the upper cross ile.

I have taken some pains to establish this fact, not only with a view to ascertain the sepulture of King John, but also to reconcile a note which the learned Dr. Hopkins has made, relative to this subject, but in terms so general, as to need an explanation. It is the doctor's remark, that "anciently the choir extended westward to the second pillar below the belfry." (1) To get at the true import of this assertion, (for it can be nothing more, without proof) we must again recur to the ancient principal tower of this church, which stood on the section of the middle and upper cross iles, immediately over the area of the present altar, in which, doubtless, bells were fixed for the immediate purposes of the church service, besides those in the leaden steeple; more particularly the sanctes bell. Here, then, was the belfry to which Dr. Hopkins's remark refers; and if we say farther, that "the choir extended westward, to the second pillar *beneath* (instead of *below*) the belfry," the information contained in the note is then correct; but it cannot apply to any other arrangement of the church in any of the reforms it has undergone subsequent to that period.

On examining the extreme eastern part of the undercroft, it is observable,

structure, visible at the east end of the north ile of the choir. Similar means of strengthening part of the fabric about the Dean's chapel were applied at the same time.

It is highly probable that these parts of the upper cross ile were thus damaged by the fall of the ancient tower, which originally stood between them.

These modern addenda, with the stone screen under the organ loft, are the principal architectural blemishes in the whole church, as far as regards its general appearance as a Gothic edifice. They were the produce of that age, when the miserable attempts at the Grecian architecture arose, and when the Gothic, which had just attained its perfection, was falling into disuse.

(1) See Browne Willis's Hist. of Mitred Abbies, vol. II. p. 262. Abingdon's Hist. of Worcester Cathedral, p. xxii. and Dr. Thomas's Survey, p. 4.

that in parts of one or two of its arches, where some of the loose stones with which they have been stopped up are displaced, and where the outer face of the stone work of the circular end can be in part explored, it is found to have a regular wrought surface, and that the external angles of the sides of those arches, of which there are five, are finished with projecting mouldings, or, what is most probable, small columellæ, in form corresponding with those in the inner part of the circle. The whole cavity and extent of the area, as then inclosed, from the present altar screen east, to the circular end of the undercroft west, (1) which is precisely under the space between the foot of King John's tomb and the first step of the ascent to the altar, was entirely filled up with earth to the height we now see it, and which, from the level of the vault, is about thirteen feet. Since that era many interments have taken place about the high altar, of which we shall hereafter have farther occasion to mention. (2)

It will be much less difficult to believe that the body of King John is still in possession of its original sepulture in this chapel, than that St. Oswald was ever buried beside his grave. The death of that saint is stated to have happened A. D. 992; and that he was buried in his own church is most probable. Ten years after his death, many miracles having been wrought at his tomb, Adulph, his successor, A. D. 1002, honourably translated St. Oswald's bones from his grave into a shrine he had prepared for that purpose. The body was found reduced to powder; but his episcopal garment, in which he was wrapped, was as fresh as when newly made, and continued so, says Malmsbury, to his time, which was in the twelfth century. (3)

In 1089, the relics of St. Oswald were inclosed in a new shrine, at the expence of seventy-two marks of silver, by Bishop Wulstan, at the time of his opening his new cathedral, and 48 years after the destruction of St. Oswald's cathedral. This, as well as the former shrine, we may gather, was of the portable kind, which upon various disastrous occasions had been brought forth in procession, to avert threatening calamities, and, as we may imagine, with various success. The last service but one, to which the remains of this saint were called, proved unfavourable to their reputed influence over misfortune. In 1139, when the forces of the Empress Maude

(1) The plan of the crypt is inserted in the Plate of the ichnography of the cathedral, and is placed parallel to the situation it occupies in its foundation. (2) See Appendix, No. VIII. p. xxvi.

(3) Malmsb. de Gestis Pont. lib. iii. p. 154. Dr. Thomas, in Bishops of Worcester, p. 56.

attacked the city of Worcester, the relics of St. Oswald were carried in procession from one gate to the other, with the choir singing before it in form. But the assailants, regardless of the ceremony, forced their way into the city, set fire to it in several places, and plundered it without mercy. (1)

In Mr. Abingdon's time, there was extant in the ledger of rectories and impropriations of the diocese of Worcester, a letter, written in English by holy King Henry VI. to this priory, to obtain of God rain, at a time of extreme drought, by a procession joined with the relics of St. Oswald. (2)

It is most likely the procession took place; but what was its success we are not informed of, as neither the letter, the year of the king's reign, or any trace of the circumstance, is now to be found. It serves, however, to shew, that the relics of St. Oswald continued in a state of requisition so late as near the middle of the fifteenth century.

That the grave of St. Wulstan was here, may be admitted as a certainty. In 1201, one hundred and six years after his death, his remains had the reputation of working miracles, and fifteen or sixteen persons in a day were said to have been cured of their diseases. This we may suppose was the effect of the outrage committed upon their repose by Bishop John de Constantiis, during his short prelacy, from November, 1196, to September, 1198: for in 1204, Bishop Malger replaced the bones of the blessed Wulstan in the same grave from whence they had been irreverently removed by his predecessor. (3) They had, however, been long enough above ground, to prove that such a treasure was not literally to be buried. Their fame soon found its way to the Vatican; and Hubert, Archbishop of Canterbury, Eustace, Bishop of Ely, and the abbats of St. Edmund and Wlburn, in 1202, received the commands of Pope Innocent III. to visit Worcester, and to inquire into the truth of those miracles; where receiving full satisfaction of the fact, they returned with joy, and sent letters of attestation to the pope by Walter de Bradwas, and Randolph de Evesham, monks of Worcester; whereupon Wulstan was canonized at Rome with great solemnity, (4) on the ninth of the calends of May, 1203.

(1) Flor. Wigorn.

(2) Abingdon's MS. p. 47.

(3) Annal. Wig. Dr. Thomas, in Account of the Bishops, p. 121, 122.

(4) An. Wig. See also 4 C. fol. 2. art. 3. "Bulla Innocentii Papæ pro Canonizatione Wulstani Wigorniensis Episcopi: data anno sexto."—The last page. On parchment. Casley's Catal. of MSS. of the King's Library, p. 52. Mus. Brit.

We may conclude that the bones of Wulstan were not enshrined after they had been taken from the grave by Bishop de Constantiis, and that his successor, induced by the sanctity which they had newly acquired, entombed them again, from motives of veneration and devotion. King John, A. D. 1207, three years after St. Wulstan's second interment, paid his devotions at his tomb. But he was not suffered to rest long with his kindred dust; for we are told by the Worcester Annals, that Bishop Sylvester, on the day of the dedication of the cathedral, in 1216, as before related, put the corpse of St. Wulstan into a sumptuous new shrine, the old one having been melted down two years before, to enable them to pay the contribution of three hundred marks, which was at that time imposed upon the convent, for their having submitted to the dauphin, and receiving William, the son of William Mareschall, to maintain his interest among them. (1) The death of Bishop Sylvester, which happened on the 16th day of the following month, (July) was said by some to have been a judgment upon him, for having with his own hands sawed in two some of the bones of St. Wulstan, and divided them in several places. Of this indecent transaction it seems he gloried. (2) This is farther confirmed by Florence of Worcester, who says, that at this time the relics of Wulstan were divided, and that one of his ribs was given to the monks of St. Alban's, who received it with procession, and inclosed it with gold. (3)

In the pontificacy of William de Blois, it was decreed in 1224, that the profits arising from the tomb of St. Wulstan, at which many miracles continued at that time to be performed, should be divided between the bishop and the convent. (4)

Edward the First was much devoted to this saint, and often resorted to his tomb; to which, in 1300, he sent an offering of eight candles, to burn before it.

After this period, we may presume that the shrines of these canonized saints became stationary in the side iles of the Lady's chapel, whilst their tombs were also permanent before the altar of the blessed Virgin in its middle ile.

That St. Oswald's remains shared the same fate as St. Wulstan's, in being

(1) An. Wig. sub anno 1216.
p. 409, 410.

(4) Ang. Sac.

(2) Annal. Waverl. p. 184.

(3) Lambarde, ex Flo.

divided, although we cannot trace the date of the circumstance, we are led to believe, from his shrine being also a portable one: the fixed shrines, such as the Confessor's, in Westminster abbey, St. Cuthbert's, at Durham, and a few others, are supposed to contain the bodies entire of the persons whose names they bear. In the Harleian Collection of MSS. (1) in the British Museum, we find in part of an inventory of the plate, vestments, utensils, &c. belonging to the priory of Worcester, under the head "The Tumbary's Office," the following "Item. Seynt Oswalde and Seynt Ulstans hede, "with selv^r and gylte—and certen relyquis of Seynt Oswalde and Seynt "Ulsta—, coveryde with selv^r."

One other view of their bones was afforded "to the up-turn'd wondering "eyes of mortals," before they left "the glimpses of the moon." In 1538, The *shrines* of St. Wulstan and St. Oswald were taken down, and their bones (with the bones of Bishop de Constantiis) were laid in lead, and buried at the north end of the high altar; all which time there was such lightning and thunder, that every one thought the church would have fallen. And in 1541, the *tombs* of St. Oswald and St. Wulstan were taken down and removed. (2)

From the preceding account of the posthumous labours of those saints, to their final disappearance, we are no longer to suppose them deposited under those stones which bear the effigies of two ancient bishops, so uniformly sculptured in the same kind of stone, and so exactly placed at equal distances from the sepulchral covering still remaining over the grave of King John. But in suggesting, that on the removal of their tombs, these figures, which had been placed upon them, were laid down on the floor, where those tombs anciently stood, still denoting where the real grave of

(1) No. 604. Plut. 2—v. F. art. 48. p. 102. See also the Appendix to this Section, No. III. p. vii.

(2) Bishop Blandford's MS.—Quare. May not the collection of mosaic bricks laid in the form of an oblong square, in the north ile of the Lady's chapel, cover this deposit? The situation accords strictly enough to the place described "at the north end of the high altar." The disorder in which those bricks were till lately found, prove, that either they were the spoils of the ancient sepulchres of those saints, brought into use upon the present occasion; or that an interment, subsequent to the time of their being first laid down, where we now find them, had taken place. The present order of the arrangement of those bricks has been effected by the industry of a very meritorious servant of the church, by whose careful attention in replacing them, the original design of this ancient sepulchral covering has been restored.

It represents a cross, about which flowers are disposed; some of the bricks are ornamented with birds, and others at the angles with mitres; denoting the spot as the sepulture of some prelate—of whom no account has reached us.—It is also to be remarked as the only tessellated pavement in the whole church.

St. Wulstan and the reputed one of St. Oswald had formerly been, will, I trust, be thought easily reconcileable to positive fact. (1)

On the festivals of the translation of these saints it was customary to pay devotions at their shrines; but on the anniversaries of their deposition (or decease) at their graves: that of Oswald's deposition, January the 19th, continued to be observed by the Roman catholics in the last age, who were wont to visit, on that day, a gravestone with an effigy upon it, in the pavement of St. Mary's chapel. (2) In matters of *la petite religion* the tradition of the Romanists is faithful enough, and may safely be allowed its authority.

Bishop Giffard, in his last will, (dated 1301, Sept. 13) very clearly distinguishes between the great or high altar, and the altar of the glorious Virgin's chapel, (3) in the cathedral church of Worcester, and bequeaths precious vestments to the use of each. So that the separation of her chapel in this cathedral must have been made before that time. He expresses also his desire, that he might be buried in the tomb he had prepared for himself on the north side of the great altar. This tomb, says the register of Canterbury, was *supra beati Oswaldi feretrum*; (4) whence I collect, that the shrine

(1) Mr. Gough, in his valuable and learned work, has decidedly settled the point respecting the fashion of tombs in different ages. In his class of those of the eleventh century, the first in the order of his arrangement, he thus treats of those of "St. Oswald and St. Wulstan, at Worcester, (miscalled, by Dr. Thomas, Bishops de Constantiis and Giffard, who lived one and two centuries later) are very much in the stile of those of Roger and the other bishop at Sarum; the same attitude and the same foliage under their heads, as under the latter. It is remarkable, that both the Worcester statues hold a mere baculus, or staff, instead of a crosier, (though both Thomas and Green call them crosiers) and have a rose on their breasts." [Sepulchral Monuments, p. 13. Century XI.]

It is, however, to be noted in favour of the engravings of those figures in Dr. Thomas, that they represent the staff correctly in each, although it is certain both his account and mine have mistermmed them crosiers.

(2) Angl. Sac. I. p. 497.

(3) It is extraordinary that Dr. Thomas, who, in his Appendix, No. 69. p. 77. gives us a copy of this will, should not perceive a distinction so strongly marked. He tells us, that the bishop made himself a magnificent tomb, near the great altar of the Virgin Mary's chapel. [Dr. Thomas's Account, p. 152.] We often read of the great altar of a church, and of the altars in its several chapels: but who ever heard of the great altar of the chapel of a church? It is certain, that the great altar, meant by Bishop Giffard, was the choral, or high altar, near which he had already buried his sister Maude, close by the place that he had destined for the lofty position of his own tomb: "juxta locum ubi episcopus frater ejus deposuit sublimius sepeliri." [Annal. Wig.] It is clear to me, that the bishop was desirous of having his own sepulchre at the top of the northern ascent to the altar, where the monument of Mrs. Goldisburgh is now seen.

(4) Angl. Sac. I. p. 497.

of that saint stood on the north side of the choir : this is indeed confirmed by the register of the priory, *sede vacante*, in the following account.

The raising of this sumptuous tomb gave great offence to Winchelsea, at that time Archbishop of Canterbury, as it had occasioned the removal of that of John de Constantiis, who had been considered as a saint, and whose claims on that distinction were now much strengthened in the public opinion, upon its being found that his body, after being interred for near one hundred years, remained uncorrupted. The shrine of St. Oswald was also incommoded by the new tomb, which had the appearance of a tabernacle over it. These circumstances, added to the encroachment it made upon the choir, so as to obstruct the priests in serving at the high altar, induced the archbishop to issue orders to the prior to remove it. The prior, by letter, excused himself from doing it in the time of the bishop's last sickness, lest the grief occasioned by it might hasten his death. But on the decease of Giffard, which happened 26 Jan. A. D. 1301-2, the orders of the archbishop were fulfilled, and the tomb was taken down. (1)

In the last will of Bishop Giffard, (which Dr. Thomas has inserted in his Appendix, No. 69. p. 77.) he earnestly entreats the prior and convent, that his body may be deposited on the dexter or north side of the altar. But this was not likely to be granted. He had too much chagrined them by tedious and expensive law suits, which he carried on against them. Yet as he had been a noble benefactor in ornamenting the church, they could not refuse his remains a place near the altar, in a situation, from which no annoyance could arise ; and he was accordingly interred at the bottom of the south ascent to the high altar, over which his tomb was placed.

The erecting of Prince Arthur's chapel in 1504, occasioned a second derangement of Giffard's tomb, *pro tempore*. It was then divested of its sculptured appendages, and, in the simple form we now find it, was accommodated to its present situation, still remaining over his grave, beneath the chapel of Prince Arthur. (2) The adjacent tomb of the Countess of Surrey was submitted to the same operation at the same time. (3)

(1) Abingdon's MS. p. 38. (2) Browne Willis, in his MS. Addenda to his Cathedrals, vol. I. p. 627.

(3) In Symonds's Church Notes, vol. II. [No. 965, in the Harl. Coll. MSS. art. 16. Brit. Mus.] He says, " Under Prince Arthur's chapel, in blue marble, lies the statue of a bishop upon an altar tomb, for " St. Wulstan, who gave all the marble pillars to this church, in all 250." Here we see a compound of truth and error, jumbled together by oral tradition.

The tomb of John de Constantiis was, doubtless, replaced in its former situation; and the tomb of Bishop Cantelupe occupies the adjoining sepulchral arch eastwards. (1)

Two facts, hitherto obscured and much disputed, are established beyond a doubt in this extract from the register of the priory; namely, the place of the sepulture of Bishop de Constantiis, and the situation of the shrine of St. Oswald. We have henceforth only to recollect that the graves and shrines of St. Oswald and St. Wulstan were distinct objects; that the first were emptied of their remains, to supply the last; and that each retained a degree of sanctity and imposing reverence deeply rooted in the faith of those who resorted to them. Their graves, as already described, were on each side of that of King John; their shrines were brought forward to the view of the congregation; that of St. Oswald on a line with Cantelupe's tomb, and that of St. Wulstan parallel with the tomb of Giffard, at the north and south ends of the high altar. On the destruction of the shrines of those saints, the hallowed honours of their names were transferred to the adjoining tombs; and thus the Bishops Cantelupe and Giffard, if they never received papal beatification, have been sanctified in their graves, by a vulgar error, which has reached through two centuries to the present times.

The miracles wrought by King John were not of such a nature, that monkish devotion would either raise up its eyes or its hands, in support of his claim on the order of its saints. He had, however, done something in favour of the church, and that of Worcester had a share of his attention. To the political world he gave much greater cause of remembrance. History and experience have handed down to us the importance of the benefits derived to the constitution of England; and past and succeeding ages have already felt, and will hereafter continue to feel, that more was ceded towards the emancipation of a brave people from the iron hand of power, by that extraordinary compound of majesty and meanness, than could have been wrested from kings more just, more wise, and more magnanimous.

A simple stone coffin, with his figure upon it, of the fashion of the thirteenth century, (2) raised a little above the surface of the earth, was all the

(1) See the Plan of the Cathedral, No. 18, 16. See also Gough's Sepulchral Monuments, p. 30, ex. Green's Survey, p. 72. (2) Sandford pronounces the figures of the king, and the bishops Oswald and Wulstan, between whom he is represented, all of one stone, to be as old as the time of Henry III. [See his Genealogical Hist. p. 85.]

memorial left, for posterity to contemplate the personal character of a monarch to whom it has casually been so much indebted. This stone was removed at the Reformation, for the evident purpose of perpetuating in the public mind the new policy of that important era. The influence of papal authority having been compelled to yield to regal supremacy, the image of that same king, whom two centuries before had seen basely surrendering his dignity and his crown to that overwhelming tyranny, was now brought forward, and most appositely made the visible sign of that important part of the Reformation having taken full effect in the church of Worcester: but his corporeal remains, as if unworthy to assert a right so legitimate and just, were left to their repose in obscurity and neglect, and in so marked a manner, as at this time it remains a question with many, where they really are:—a question we shall endeavour to resolve.

The evidences necessary to establish this point have been in part already produced. But that which I conceive to be the most conclusive is yet to be noticed.

There still remains (1790) in the Lady's chapel, in the precise situation pointed out in every account left us of the place of the interment of King John, a sepulchral stone, of a dark colour, so truly corresponding in form with that on his tomb in the choir, as at once to assure us that it was the original plinth or base, on which that stone, now bearing the effigy of the king, was laid. (1)

The perplexities which attended this monarch through life seem to have taken up their habitation with him in his grave. It does not appear, however, that they broke out till after the removal of his effigy from the place of his sepulture, when it was laid upon the new altar tomb, which was raised for its reception before the high altar in the present choir. Of this transaction, Leland, who lived nearer the time in which it took place, than any

(1) The following are the measures of the stone on which the effigy of King John is represented on his tomb, compared with the sepulchral stone over his grave.

Stone in the Choir.				Stone in the Lady's Chapel.			
		<i>Ft.</i>	<i>In.</i>			<i>Ft.</i>	<i>In.</i>
Length	-	6	4	-	-	6	9
Breadth at the head	-	2	5	-	-	2	6
Breadth at the feet	-	1	2	-	-	1	3

Whereby it appears that the plinth now over the grave presented a regular projection beyond the lines of the superincumbent stone now in the choir, of two inches and a half on each side, and half an inch at each end.

other writer who has at all adverted to it, furnishes the following item from his own observation: "In Presbyterio. Johannes Rex, cujus sepulchram "*Alcbirch* Sacrista nuper renovavit." And further, "Sacellum in quo Arthurus Princeps sepultus est ad austrum." (1) From hence we learn two things: First, that the renovation of King John's tomb could not allude to the ancient tomb in the Lady's chapel, but must refer only to the present one in the choir, on the south of which he points out the station of Prince Arthur's chapel. The renovation, therefore, implies the rebuilding or reconstructing anew in the choir a tomb for King John, and placing his image, which was removed from the old tomb, upon it. Secondly, the time when this change took place, namely, when *Alcbirch*, or *Alchurcb* (the same person) was sacrist, that is, a little before the dissolution of the monastery. For although no regular list of the sacrists of this church on the monkish establishment be found, yet sufficient evidence, proving Alchurch in that office at that time, occurs in the inventory of the church plate in his possession, and under his care, as sacrist, when the treasures of the monastery were surrendered in 1540. (2) It appears not, however, that this reform was effected at his own charge, although we find him in the same account a benefactor of plate to the treasury; and afterwards as sub-prior, having presented a blue arras cloth, ornamented with his own device or rebus, used as a covering for the stone seat of the church dignitaries assisting at divine service, which remained a hundred years after his time fresh and in good condition, although in constant weekly use; for such was its state, at the time of the civil wars. (3) But the question, whether the body of the king was translated from his grave to his tomb at that time, is not at all assisted by the notice Leland has taken, as above. Many, however, have been of opinion, that it was inclosed in the tomb above ground. Mr. Willis was well apprized, that no grave could be dug beneath this tomb. (4) But Dr. Thomas has denied this, on a presumption that the great vault, which he sets down but sixty feet long, does not extend so far under the eastern part of the choir, but that graves might be made there, and under the parallel arches of the side iles. It is with some pain that I point out the errors of this antiquary of Worcester. I am conscious of my obligations to

(1) Leland's Itin. vol. VIII. p. 129.

(2) See Appendix to this Section, No. II. p. iv.

(3) Dr. Thomas's Survey, p. 9.

(4) See his Cathedrals, vol. I. p. 626.

his industry : his name is venerable with me : but truth is sacred. He certainly had not examined this vault, when he asserts that it extends but half the length of the choir. Its western end is under the first arch of the choir ; and it extends eastwards beyond the king's tomb, quite to the foundation of the western pillars of the upper cross ile, or the foot of the ascent to the altar. Its length is sixty-seven feet, and the ground between the pavement of the choir and the level or floor, cast immediately over the arches of the vault, is not more than one foot deep ; much too shallow to admit of any grave being dug therein.

In a manuscript note inserted at the bottom of p. 35, in Dr. Thomas's Survey of this cathedral, by Mr. Joseph Dougharty, to whom the author had presented it, (and which is now in the possession of Sir Charles Trubshaw Withers, Knight, who very politely suffered me to copy it) it is stated, " July 24th, 1754, on examination, the sepulchre of King John was within the tomb. It is of Purbeck marble, the same with the relievo, and is painted of a vermillion red ground, ornamented with lions in *or*. The sarcophagus is covered with wood, over which are some flat sand stones : the rest filled with rubbish. When it was first deposited, the figure lay on the stone coffin, and both were environed with gilt pallisadoes, which I suppose were destroyed in 1651 ; after which the present embellishments of the sides were added. His body remains within."

In the first edition of the present work, p. 40, the late Rev. Mr. Garbet has noted in his copy, in the possession of Dr. Nash, that " there is within the tomb a sepulchral case, or stone coffin, adorned with nine lions, with a plank over it : but no bones were found in it."

On these informations I have only to remark, that both agree with respect to a sepulchral case being within the tomb, and also as to its decorations. But it appears, that although the first concludes by saying " His " (King John's) " body remains within " (that sepulchre) yet that it had not been examined : whereas, the latter states, " but no bones were found in it ;" which could only have been known from actual inspection.

We must also question the opinion of Mr. Dougharty, on the first deposition of the stone coffin, that the figure lay upon it, &c.

Symonds, in his Church Notes, vol. II. p. 81, has not given the least item of this tomb being inclosed by pallisadoes, nor that the figure, or stone coffin, were so disposed ; but he has particularly described the armorial

embellishments of the tomb, which, Mr. Dougharty has stated, were added after the destruction of the inclosure in 1651. Symonds wrote his notes on this church in 1645; in which he has farther said respecting this tomb, that "the body" (the effigy of the king) "in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's time, was gilt."

Dr. Stukeley says, King John is not buried where his monument now stands, but under a little stone before the altar of the easternmost wall of the church. On each side of him, upon the ground, lie the two Bishops Oswald and Wulstan. The image of the king he supposes likewise lay upon the ground. (1) Dr. Nash, as Mr. Gough has quoted him, thinks the body was left in the ancient choir, when on its being ruined, the tomb was brought forward. (2)

The conjecture of Dr. Stukeley appears to be well founded, and is much strengthened by the foregoing accounts of the sepulchral case contained within the present tomb in the choir. That stone coffin could not have been suffered to remain over the grave of the king in the Lady's chapel when the figure that formed its covering was taken off; and had the stone, which now remains over his grave on the floor, been continued on the ancient tomb, the absurdity of duplicate tombs in the same church, for the same king, was too glaring to be adopted; neither was it of a form or fashion at all correspondent with the era of its translation, to become an ornament suitable to the situation the present tomb now occupies, however well it suited its ancient site, whilst the figure remained upon it. The royal insignia which embellished its outside, and at that time visible, formed the same object in its original state as those now seen on the present tomb; and the whole, as a vestige of royal antiquity, has very properly been inclosed in the present cenotaph to preserve it.

Having explored, as far as the best authorities can warrant, the tomb, where the body of King John is not, it is necessary, in order to trace out where it is, again to resort to his grave.

I have already said in page 40 of the Survey, that the body of King John is supposed to be still preserved in a deep sepulchral vault in St. Mary's chapel, that has been discovered between the gravestones that bear the effigies of two bishops, which have been generally shewn for the tombs of John de Constantiis, and Godfrey de Giffard. The vault is of stone, very ancient;

(1) Stukeley's *Itinerarium Curiosum*, p. 65.

(2) *Sepulchral Monuments*, p. 37. Cent. XIII.

and contains a strong chest, in which, upon the opening, was found a leaden coffin; (1) yet without any characters or symbols that might certainly determine the deposite, so carefully preserved, to be the royal body. And farther, that if this be not the body of the king, we must be content with an absolute ignorance of the place where it lies. This opinion is still retained in its full extent, with respect to the remains of King John being deposited in the vault discovered. This grave has been repeatedly opened, and each time has to a certainty proved those remains to be still within it: but the coffin is of stone, and the chest must either have been destroyed, or covered in the subsequent ruin of this vault, if the first report be to be depended upon, of the coffin being contained within a chest. (2)

As I trust it is made evident that the bodies of the Saints Oswald and Wulstan are neither of them in the graves in which they were at first interred, and that neither the remains of the Bishops John de Constantiis nor Godfrey de Giffard, are deposited in the reputed sepulchres of those saints, as asserted by Dr. Thomas. We have here another obituary investigation to encounter before we can leave this spot, so pregnant with incertitude and doubt.

The learned gentleman who has honoured the author by the communication of some curious particulars relative to the last opening of the grave of King John, and in whose presence the whole operation was performed, in having opportunely suggested the temporary removal of those two stones, on each of which the sculptured figure of a bishop is represented, and laid on the respective graves of the Saints Oswald and Wulstan, on each side of that of the king, fortunately for the subject, has brought the whole to a direct issue. The proposition he made being forthwith carried into effect, the following was the result of a careful inspection.—In each of the graves a stone coffin was found, similar to that of King John, at the same depth from the surface of the earth, and each containing a skeleton, laid in its right position of burial. The remains of their vestures (3) sufficiently ascertained both of them to have been of the prelatie order of ecclesiastic dignity.

(1) Drake Ebor. p. 37. Weever's Fun. Mon. p. 37. The use of leaden coffins was known to the Romans.

(2) The demolition of the ancient vault was occasioned by making room for a new one adjoining to it, of no very distant date.

(3) A small piece of that in the grave to the north, on which a figure, inscribed IEREMI, is embroidered, about five inches long, is in the author's possession. It is of a fine texture, of a brownish colour, the effect of time, and parts of the embroidery are of gold thread.

On this circumstance I have first to observe, that the grave of St. Wulstan, after a period of about 112 years after his deposition, and about eight years before the death of King John, had been emptied of his remains, which were then inclosed in a shrine: and, secondly, that St. Oswald's translation from his grave to his shrine had taken place more than two centuries before that period. But although it be probable he never was buried where his reputed tomb was placed, some relic of him might be there deposited, to which devotions were offered by the people; an object sufficiently sanctified and attractive, to render that spot equally sacred to spiritual purposes, as the real grave of St. Wulstan could possibly be; and, as such, equally desirable as a place of sepulture to any succeeding bishop, who might either select or command it.

If the cowl of a monk was deemed by King John to be a helmet of salvation for him in a future state, we may conclude that the untenanted graves of two of the most celebrated saints of the monkish calendar would be sought, as places of refuge, by those who had the power to secure them to themselves, for the repose of their mortal parts, unless they would either abandon or betray the avowed principles of their practical faith. The royal sepulchre had derived new and important consequence to the part of the church in which it was placed; and from that part also having been recently devoted to the peculiar service of the blessed Virgin, it was then literally and devoutly considered as the *sanctum sanctorum* of the cathedral.

I conceive it is not presuming too much, to suppose that Bishop Sylvester would, without much hesitation, assume to himself one of those vacant graves. This prelate had arisen from the rank of a private monk of this church, to its episcopal throne. He had been personally known to, in having been consecrated by the Pope, Innocent III.; he had buried the late King John within his church, between the tombs of its sainted founders; and he had newly consecrated that church, in the presence of the young King Henry III. who had ceded to its use a moiety of his castle: doubtless, therefore, Bishop Sylvester, who considered himself as the patron of the church, wanted no other stimulus than his own pleasure, to determine which of the two hallowed sepulchres he would direct should receive his remains at his death. We shall therefore state the probability, that the grave of St. Oswald was selected; as his irreverent treatment of the bones of Wulstan had ren-

dered it in a great degree improper for him to lay a decent claim to the grave of that saint.

The real services his successor, William de Blois, had rendered to this cathedral, in erecting its magnificent nave, and building the charnel house, in aid of its overflowing cemetery, entitled his remains to the first obituary distinctions the church had yet in reserve to dispose of; and, at his decease, the sainted sepulchre of Wulstan most probably received them.

Now, it appears, in support of the foregoing conjectures, that of the twenty-eight bishops of Worcester, being the whole of the number who have been interred in the present church, from St. Wulstan to Bishop Madox, both inclusive, the grave of each has been ascertained, upon the earliest and firmest historical evidence that can be adduced, with the exception of three only, namely, the Bishops Sylvester, William de Blois, and Wulstan de Braunsford. Of the inhumation of the two first of those bishops, enough has been advanced, to shew the probability that it is they who are in possession of the graves of St. Oswald and St. Wulstan; and which is now reduced to a moral certainty, from the knowledge derived of the sites of those of every other prelate buried in the cathedral.

With respect to William de Braunsford, it is Willis's opinion that he was buried here, as he had been a considerable benefactor to the church: (1) of this fact, however, we have no other testimony, than that a tomb, formerly under the second window eastwards of the north ile of the choir, was supposed to be his: a bishop, mitred, and vested for the altar, being represented cumbent upon it. But Mr. Abingdon, having expressed a strong doubt whether it was a bishop or a prior, from observing in the second pane of the window over the tomb the figure of a prior with two mitres, one on his head, and the other in his left hand, and in his right a staff of authority, and the inscription, "Johannes Evesham, Prior, privilegium de mitra . . ." has been induced to suppose the tomb belonged to him. And Willis, in his account of the priors of this monastery, says, that he was buried in the north ile, and was one of the first of that dignity, who had interment in the cathedral. (2)

(1) Willis's Cathedrals, vol. I. p. 641.
Thomas's Survey, p. 43.

(2) See Hist. Mitred Abbies, vol. I. p. 309. Dr.

THE BISHOP'S PALACE,

Is a very ancient and interesting remain of antiquity. It is situated on the northern verge of the college precincts, near the Severn; the date of its erection is not precisely known. We find it to have been existing before 1224, when Bishop Blois built the chapel of the charnel house, between the cathedral church and his palace, "which in my opinion," says Mr. Abingdon, "declareth the ancient hall to have been, in former ages, nearer than this modern to the cathedral. The palace itself is, I think, equal in continuance with the bishopric." (1)

In 1270, Bishop Giffard obtained the royal licence of King Henry to fortify it with an inclosure of embattled walls; (2) and probably added much to the structure; but the cellarage has the appearance of being a work of early Norman antiquity. Its arched vaults, its noble and spacious kitchen, and the chapel originally over it; the essays of various improvements and useful modern additions, clinging round and supporting the venerable remains of the ancient mansion, to which the Bishops Sandys, Hough, and Johnson have liberally contributed, and to which the present prelate has given the finish, evince that neither the munificent intention of its founders has escaped the observance of their successors, nor its ancient hospitality lost any thing of its value or its dignity in the present times.

In all conventual cathedrals the bishop's house was not within the close of the monastery, but on the outside of its gates, yet adjacent to it; his house, and a convenient space for offices round it, was a royalty of his own, as the ground within the convent close, was the free and unalienable fief of the prior and chapter.

An episcopal residence in London for the bishops of Worcester, appears to have been very early provided.

In 857, King Bertwulf gave to Alhune, Bishop of Worcester, a piece of ground without the west gate of London, called Ceolmundinge-haga, paying 12*d.* a year for the same, where afterwards the bishops of that see had a

(1) Abingdon's MS. p. 33 and 37. It may be questioned whether the Saxon bishops had any other house of residence in the diocese than this. The Norman prelates were fond of their manor-houses in the country; whence those at Kemsey, Northwyke, Bredon, Blockley, Wyndindon (Gloucestershire), and Hartlebury, became in different ages episcopal seats.

(2) Dr. Thomas's Bishops of Worcester, p. 137.

palace, for the conveniency of attending the king's courts and affairs in parliament, as other noblemen and prelates had ; and for this he gave the king 60 shillings in silver. (1) In the time of Maugerus, Bishop of Worcester, to whom it was again confirmed, temp. King John, by Fulco, abbat, and the convent of Lesnes : the mansion was then deemed a manor. (2)

Wulstan de Braunsford, Bishop of Worcester, 22 August, 1344, granted the keeping of his house in the Strand, London, to William de Netherton, during his life, who was to receive for his labour 40 shillings and one robe yearly.

Tideman, Bishop of Worcester, granted to Henry Cambrigge, citizen and fishmonger, for his service to the bishop and his predecessors, the keeping of his house, situate without the gate of the New Temple, London, together with the easements of all the houses lying between the great gate of the said mansion and the Savoy, and annexed to the same mansion ; also a certain void piece of ground, whereon to build a house, to hold for his life, paying yearly a pound of pepper, repairing all the houses without the gate, and finding the bishop and his successors in herbs, during their residence in the said mansion ; dated at Hyllingdon, 21 Rich. II. (3)

Bishop Carpenter, 29 Hen. VI. granted the keeping of this house, together with the gardens, &c. to Thomas Andrews ; the bishop giving him a livery suitable to his valets, 26 shillings and 8 pence yearly, and a dish of meat, with bread and ale daily, during the bishop's residence there. (4)

St. Mary le Strand was a very ancient church and parish, a rectory in the gift of the bishops of Worcester, who had near it their inn, or town residence. This church with the house, gardens, &c. together with Chester inn, belonging to the see of Litchfield and Coventry, and another belonging to the Bishops of Landaff, were all levelled to the ground by the Protector Somerset, to make room for the late magnificent palace which bore his name, and on the site of which Somerset Place now stands. (5) These victims to sacrilege were

(1) Dr. Thomas, in Account of Bishops, p. 29. ex Hem. Chart. p. 44.

(2) Lib. Alb. Episc. Wigorn. f. 139.

(3) Ibid. f. 104, 105.

(4) Dr. Nash, in Intr. vol. I. p. 35.

(5) Pennant's London, p. 149. Fuller, b. iii. p. 62, 63. and Weever's Funeral Monuments, p. 215. It would seem that both Dr. Nash and Mr. Pennant had not been aware that the following transaction had taken place. Bishop Heath, temp. Edw. VI. exchanged Hillingdon in Middlesex, and his palace and church in the Strand, London, for the manors of Grimiege and Hallow, and the advowson, with the advowson of St. Martin's Vintry, and Newington, Com. Surrey, which remain to the see to this day. Cited

thus devoted without the least atonement or compensation made to the proprietors for the loss, other than to the Bishop of Worcester, who had in respect to his former house, a house in the White Fryers, which he enjoyeth. (1)

THE DEANRY.

In 1225, William de Bedeford, the twenty-third prior of this monastery, built a new house, with offices adjacent, for the residence of the priors. This ancient edifice is still in being ; it hath, however, been much enlarged and modernized by one or other of its successive possessors. At the dissolution it was appropriated for the residence of the deans of this church, and as such it has ever since been called the Deanry. (2)

THE GUESTEN, OR AUDIT HALL.

There remains one public office of the old monastery that may give us some idea of its original hospitality. This is the Audit House, anciently called the Guesten Hall ; built in 1320 by Wulstan de Braunsford, then Prior, afterwards Bishop of Worcester, for the entertainment of strangers exclusively ; the rules of the order not allowing them to sit with the monks at the tables of the refectory. (3) In this hall the convent held their monthly court, called Guesten hall court, for the determining of differences between their tenants : (4) and it was a custom, preserved even to the days of King Charles I. that the tenants of this church might not sue each other in actions for less than forty shillings, in any court but this. The building is still sacred to hospitality : and the noble entertainments furnished here at the annual audits, do honour to one of the most eminent capitular bodies, established by one of the greatest of our kings.

THE CLOISTER.

The present cloister was built anno 1372. The east cloister is 125 feet long, the south, west, and north cloisters 120 feet each, and the whole series 16 feet wide. The body or nave of the cathedral is contiguous to them on

from Strype's Eccl. Mem. vol II. p. 25. See Dr. Thomas's Acc. of the Bishops of Worcester, p. 207, 208. In the Pepysian library, Magd. College, Cambridge, are Hollar's drawings of Suffolk, York, Durham, Salisbury, Worcester, and Somerset Houses. [Gough's Topogr. ed. 1. p. 314.]

(1) Sir Henry Spelman's Works, part II. p. 212, 213. fol. ed. 1723.

(2) Ann. Wig. (3) Its length is 68 feet, its breadth and height of well regulated proportions, and was originally lighted by a single series of handsome Gothic windows. (4) Dr. Thomas.

the north side, and communicates with them by two doors from its south ile, the one opening into the east cloister, and the other into the west. It is a remark which generally applies to the cloisters of most of our conventual fabrics, that their situation is, as at Worcester, to the south of the church.

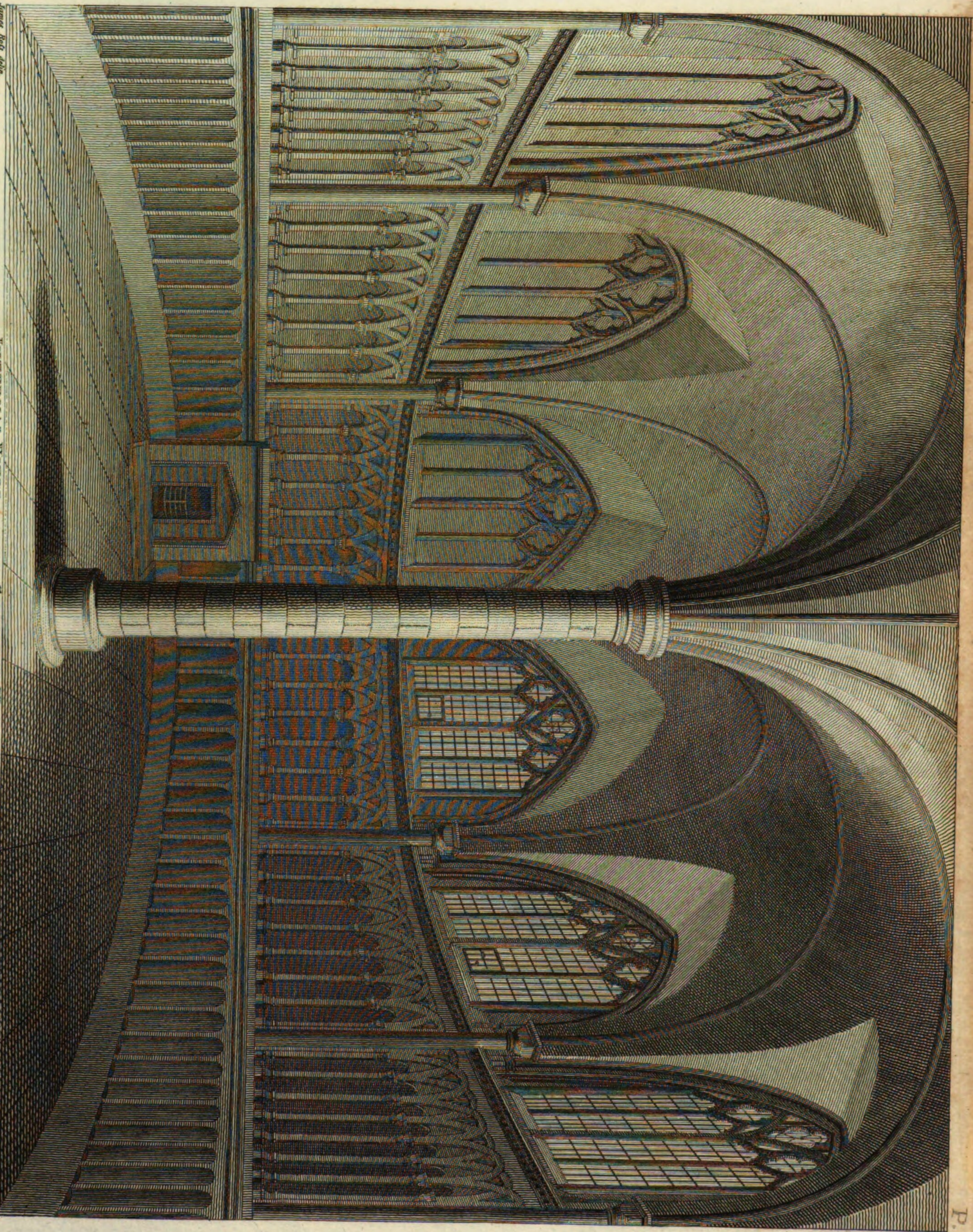
According to the Worcester annals, we find that King John upon his coming to Worcester, A. D. 1207, after having paid his devotions at the tomb of St. Wulstan, and giving to the prior and convent certain gréat privileges in their manors of Lindridge, Wulvardely, Stoke, and Clive ; he gave them also one hundred marks to repair their cloister and offices, which, together with the monastery had been destroyed by fire five years before. Of the situation of those ancient cloisters we have no account. It is most probable they were constructed of wood, as well as the other offices of the church, which were either greatly damaged, or wholly destroyed by that conflagration. (1)

THE CHAPTER-HOUSE, AND LIBRARY.

On the east side of the cloister is the chapter-house, in form a decagon, fifty-eight feet in diameter, and forty-five in height. Its roof is supported by a fine round umbillical pillar, arising in the centre, exactly corresponding with that at Ely. It was erected at the same time with the cloisters ; and now most aptly serves a double use, being not only the council room,

(1) The vaulted roof of the present cloister is adorned with a profusion of sculptures, particularly the north and south cloisters : in the former, on the keystone of the centre arch, is a well wrought figure of the Virgin Mary, with our Saviour in her lap ; the heads of both are gone. Round them are placed the hieroglyphics of the four Evangelists ; between these four angels are represented kneeling. The remaining sculptures of this cloister consist of a series of angels, represented on the centres of the other arches, bearing shields, on which coats of arms were most probably painted. In the latter a regal genealogy of Judah and Israel, or a compendium of the history of the Old Testament, is arranged in the following manner, beginning at the west end : on the keystone of the first arch is a figure with a branch issuing out of his bowels (the customary manner in which the old genealogists denoted the founders of families), which may well be supposed Jesse, from whose root the kings of Judah sprung. This sculpture is followed by the figure of David with his harp, on the next keystone ; and that by a succession of other kings to the keystone of the centre arch of this cloister, on which is a group of figures representing, most probably, the ceremony of their great prophet Samuel anointing their greatest king, David, in the presence of his brethren. At the east end, on the first keystone, is a figure similarly represented as that of Jesse, and probably meant for Nebat, father of Jeroboam, King of Israel ; a succession of regal figures is continued from this to the same centre, each holding a scroll in his hand, on which it may be supposed their names were inscribed in the order of their succession, but now defaced.*

* Several heads of kings, bishops, and monks, are also dispersed about this cloister as architectural ornaments. And on the first keystone at the north end of the east cloister, is a group of three female figures standing, but without any mark of distinction by which to ascertain for whom they were designed.



James Rigg delin.

INTERNAL VIEW OF THE CHAPTER-HOUSE, WORCESTER.

To Mr. Clarke, Chapter-Clerk, and Steward to the Dean and Chapter of Worcester. This Plate presented by me to this Worth,

London, Published by V. Green Feb. 10th 1792.

is most respectfully Dedicated by His Most Devoted and Obedient humble Servant, Valentine Green.

J. Langdon sculp.

but also the library of the church, in which is preserved a valuable collection of printed books, and many old manuscripts, chiefly of canon law, of which 169 are in folio, and 82 in quarto. The collection of books has been greatly augmented of late ages by the care of the deans, and the benefactions of private persons; and their judicious arrangement amply evinces that great attention has been paid to put them before the inquiring eye to the utmost advantage. This room wants but little of the grandeur of a perfect rotund.

In Heming's Chartulary, p. 261, 262, we find the first mention of a library belonging to the church of Worcester. *Godiva*, the wife of Leofric, Duke of Mercia, upon the death of her husband in 1057, among other presents which she made to the church of Worcester, to obtain their consent that she should hold certain possessions during her life, which Leofric had promised to restore to the monks at his decease, gave them a *library*. (1) But it was not till the prelacy of Bishop Carpenter that a regular establishment of a library appears to have taken place for the use of the convent. In 1461, June 24th, that prelate erected a library in the charnel house, adjoining to his cathedral, and Jan. 24th following, endowed it to the value of ten pounds per annum for a library keeper. This event, in the register of that bishop, is dated as above; see vol. I. p. 175; but in Abingdon's Account of the Charnel house, he has placed the same occurrence, A. D. 1459, 37 Hen. VI. From this place, A. D. 1641, the library was removed to the chapter-house, and the king's school from the chapel to the refectory, where they have ever since remained.

The ancient library is supposed to have been in one of those rooms over the south ile of the body of the church, extending over the whole of the ile, and where also the ancient parvis, (2) or school was kept. The ascent to those rooms is by a circular stone staircase, contained within the extreme

(1) Literature, science, taste, were words hardly in use during those ages of feudal tyranny. Persons of the highest rank, and in the most eminent stations, could not read or write. Many of the clergy did not understand the breviary, which they were obliged daily to recite; some of them could scarcely read it. Private persons seldom possessed any books whatever; even monasteries of considerable note had only one missal. When any person made a present of a book to a church or a monastery, in which were then the only libraries, it was deemed a donative of such value that he offered it on the altar, *pro remedio animæ suæ*, in order to obtain forgiveness of his sins. [Robertson's Hist. Cha. V. vol. I. p. 21, 22; and note K, p. 282.]

(2) See Staveley's Hist. of English Churches, p. 159, 160.—And Jacob's Hist. of Faversham, p. 43.

south-west angle of the cathedral, and from which all communication with the rest of the church is entirely cut off, the entrance to the ascent being from without. (1) In this place is now deposited a vast collection of the church writings, wills, &c. to which use it has of late been very judiciously applied, for their preservation from fire or other accidents.

THE REFECTORY.

In the south cloister is the entrance of the ancient refectory, or monks hall, now known by the name of the College hall; a spacious and lofty room, one hundred and twenty feet long (the exact length of the west cloister, to which it is contiguous), and thirty-eight in breadth. Here the king's school is kept; and here also are performed the oratorios, and other select musical compositions of the most eminent masters, at the grand triennial meeting of the three choirs of Worcester, Hereford, and Gloucester, for the benefit of the widows and orphans of the clergy of their respective counties. (2) This room was also built at the same time with the cloister.

THE KITCHEN.

At the back of the seventh prebendal house, which anciently belonged to the coquinarius, or kitchenier of the monastery, on a line with the west end of the refectory, the remains of a spacious octagonal apartment has lately been explored with attention, and ultimately with success, as far as regards the ascertaining of the use to which so singular and so secluded a structure had originally been designed. Its diameter is 34 feet, and its height from the present bottom of it (which appears to be much raised above its original flooring (3) by its own ruins, or by those of adjacent buildings) to the heads of the windows, 11 feet. Its open and blank windows, of which there were seven, of a well proportioned and uniform Gothic shape and size, occupy in series the planes or sides of the building, the wall of which is in the highest parts 12 feet, and in others not more than 4 feet above their points. From the following remarks I conceive we may with certainty conclude this to have been the ancient conventual kitchen.

(1) See reference Z in the Plan.

(2) Of this establishment, see more in Sect. XX.

(3) The floor of the kitchen now in use in this prebendal house, is 8 feet below the level of the surface of the earth within this building.

In Ducarel's History of Normandy, p. 49, a view of William the Conqueror's kitchen is given; it is an eight-sided building, has four chimnies in it, and a skylight in the middle of its arched roof. But as that kitchen was not an appendage to a monastical building, we shall accept the aid of its similarity to this at Worcester no farther than just to note, that among the Normans such things were, and that from them we have received and adopted them at a very early period. But we come at once to a decision on this matter, by minutely comparing the arrangement of the conventual offices of Durham cathedral and Worcester, which, with regard to their cloisters, refectories, kitchens, chapter-houses, and dormitories, are the exact counterparts of each other; (1) and what is remarkable, the kitchen at Durham is also octangular, in which were seven fire places or chimnies, and a skylight in its vaulted roof. The arched roof of the kitchen at Worcester has either fallen in, or been taken down, for it is now entirely open at top; and no trace of chimnies or fire-places remaining, either on its sides, or in the angles of the building; it is probable, therefore, that they were placed in its centre, as we see in the rotunda of Ranelagh, and that they had one common ventige in the roof: for it is to be remarked, that the necessity of a skylight in this kitchen was entirely superseded by the ample light afforded from its surrounding windows. Its former connection with the refectory may still be traced, by several divisions of covered passages directing their course towards its west end, where, under a large arch, long since closed up, their common intercourse was carried on. (2) The date of its erection is not known.

As we are now on a research that regards a very important point of accommodation to the wellbeing of the ancient fraternity, it may be proper to notice that the CELLARAGE beneath the refectory appears to have been equal to the services to which it was devoted by its founders. The OVEN of the monastery was situated at the extreme south-west corner of its precincts, near the Severn, on the site of which Mrs. Hopton's house now stands.

(1) See the Ichnographies of Durham cathedral in Willis's Cathedrals, vol. I. p. 223; and in Grose's Antiquities, vol. I. quarto.

(2) To the vigilance of Mr. Ed. Jeal, one of the sextons of this cathedral, who first noticed this building to the author, he owes the satisfaction of having personally examined it, and of being enabled to state many of the foregoing particulars respecting it.

THE LAVATORY.

Near the south end of the west cloister, are still to be seen the remains of the old lavatory, or cistern for washing ; but its tin, or leaden lining is gone. The lavatory in convents was usually placed near the entrance of the refectory hall : it was a small reservoir of water, in which the monks were required to wash their hands when going to, or returning from, their meals. Water to drink was supplied from another cistern, I suppose within the door of the refectory : and pipes were branched to the kitchen, and to the infirmary.

This lavatory was supplied with water from a spring on Hinewick (Henwick) hill, a place distant from the cloister about 1600 yards, on the other side of the river ; whence a leaden pipe was laid along Hilton-lane, and drawn over the Severn underneath the pavement of the old bridge ; it was thence conducted along the river side, and conveyed fountain water to the cloister.

King Henry IV. by deed, bearing date the eighth of May, in the eighth year of his reign, enjoined the bailiffs and all officers to be aiding and assisting to the prior and convent in the work of this aqueduct ; and directed that they should have free liberty at all times to mend these pipes whenever they required it. (1) In pursuance of this there was a composition made, and interchangeably sealed, between the prior and convent on the one part, and the bailiffs and aldermen of the city on the other part. The condition on the part of the prior and convent was thus expressed : " That, for the more worship of the bailiffs and aldermen, their maces might be borne before them (2) within the precincts of the cemetery, or the sanctuary, although out of the liberty of the city, and likewise in the parish of St. John's in Bedwardine." (3) The condition on the part of the citizens was : " That the prior and convent should have free liberty to lead their conduit pipe over

(1) Lib. Pens. Wig. f. 47. Lib. Albus. f. 439.

(2) A former King Henry had granted a charter to the convent, which expressly restrains the bailiffs, or their servants, from bearing a mace within the church, cemetery, or priory of Worcester, unless in the presence of the king himself, or some of his children. [Hearne's Chartul. Wig. p. 550.]

(3) In pursuance of this composition, the mayor and officers of the corporation walk once a year in their formalities, and with their maces, into the suburb of St. John's on the Friday before Palm Sunday ; which is the fair day of St. John's, and the day before the great fair of Worcester.

the bridge, and through such streets and lanes as were most convenient." This pipe, in the civil wars, was every where torn up. (1)

Towards the latter end of the prelacy of Bishop Polton, A. D. 1432, Richard Osney (2) and William Boghton being at that time bailiffs of Worcester, a covenant was made and executed between them and the commonalty on the one part, and John Fordham, then prior, and the convent of Worcester on the other part, for the conveyance of water from the city conduit to the monastery. The line of the pipes to be laid for that purpose is thus described:—"in the king's highway, and up the street leading before the cottages of the prior and convent, in the suburbs of Worcester, near the castle ditch, which John Feckenham, shoemaker, held, and which is and are opposite to the town ditch of Worcester, under the castle; then, extending from thence within the city, to the priory gate, and land of the priory and convent, according as it is limited and divided." The prior and convent agree to pay to the bailiffs and their successors, for this grant, a red rose (3) at the feast of the nativity of St. John the Baptist. Dated at the Guildhall, Worcester, the Monday next after the feast of St. Michael, the eleventh year of Henry VI. (4)

THE TOWER.

The furnishing of the cathedral with a tower was the next labour undertaken in carrying on the improvements of the monastery. Near a century before the present tower was erected, Nicholas, Archdeacon of Ely, and Chancellor of England, who was bishop of this see not quite two years, gave among other benefactions to this church, sixty marks for re-edifying the tower. This donation was paid by his executors to the sacrist of the monastery, A. D. 1281. (5)

(1) There was a more ancient lavatory, mentioned by Hemingus, adorned with the carved stones from the famous cross at Whitstanes, which was taken down in the reign of William the Conqueror. [Heming. Chart. p. 113.]

(2) Richard Osney was the high or first bailiff of Worcester in the 9th year of Henry VI. his coadjutor for that year was Thomas Swiney. The list of bailiffs of Worcester is deducible no higher than that year with certainty. He lies buried in St. Alban's church, and was a considerable benefactor to the cathedral. See Dr. Nash, vol. II. p. cxi. who writes his name *Oldney*.—Quære if not at present *Oldnal*?

(3) The royal badge or ensign.

(4) Abingdon's MS. p. 55, 56.

(5) An. Waverl. p. 224. Dr. Thomas's Account of the Bishops of Worcester, p. 135. See also Willis's Hist. of Abbies, vol. I. p. 303.

The rectory of Wlverslawe (Wolverley) was given to the priory by Roger, Bishop of Worcester, who

The tower was finished in the year 1374; it is 162 feet high, arising from the centre of the great cross ile, and dividing the choir from the nave of the church. The external embellishments of this structure are excelled by none in the kingdom for their richness. The series of tabernacle-work which surrounds its upper stage, comprehending the windows of the bell-room, and the figures (1) placed about them, is an arrangement of the modern Gothic decoration, that has left little of improvement discoverable in the same stile of embellishment, even in the latest instances of its use in Europe, in a period of near two centuries, and when that species of architecture had arrived at its *ne plus ultra* of perfection.

The top of the tower is terminated by four handsome pinnacles of open work, and surrounded with a corresponding battlement. The chapter Worcester about the close of the last century erected those pinnacles, and new cased some of the outward walls of the cathedral, at the expence of several thousand pounds. (2) At that time also, we may suppose the figures round the tower were cleaned and made visible, as they now appear to great advantage

It is evident that the constructing of towers for the use of churches was not well understood by the Saxon builders, from the frequency of their destruction, as at Worcester and other places. The tower and turrets built by the Normans to their churches, erected in the first century after their

died 1179, and upon the petition of Prior John de Evesham, and the convent, it was impropriated by the pope, the reason of which impropriation was, the re-building the fair tower of the cathedral church and monastery. [Dr. Nash, vol. II. p. 472.—See also Dr. Thomas's Survey, p. 6.]

(1) The figures on the east façade of the tower have evidently an allusion to its founders, from the instruments which are held in some of their hands. The centre one is a king, probably Edward III. towards the latter end of whose reign the tower was completed. The two bishops we may reasonably conclude to be Nicholas de Ely, a benefactor to the work, and William Lynn, at that time Bishop of Worcester, doubtless also a benefactor.

On the south side is a king in armour, robed and crowned: it is not improbable it was meant for King Henry III. who had granted the outer ward of the castle to the use of the church, for the purpose of enlarging its precincts to the south, and in whose presence the church had been newly consecrated in 1218. On his right is a bishop with a church in his hands, and on his left another with a crosier.

Those on the west front are figures of two bishops and a king, disposed in the same order with the preceding ones, only that the king is uncovered, and represented with a beard.

On the north side, which faces the city, the Virgin Mary with the infant Saviour in her arms, occupies the centre niche; in that to the east is St. Oswald; and St. Wulstan in the one to the west. All these figures are in a very respectable stile of sculpture for the age that produced them.

(2) Willis's Cathedrals, vol. I. p. 628.

coming, were covered as platforms with battlements, or plain parapet walls. Spires and pinnacles are not of very ancient date, and were additions since the modern stile of pointed arches prevailed. One of the earliest spires we have any account of is that of old St. Paul's, London, finished A. D. 1222; it was of timber covered with lead, as was that at Worcester. (1)

Bells, no doubt (says Mr. Bentham), at first suggested the necessity of towers, and were built not only for necessary use, (2) but often symmetry and ornament, in different parts of the fabric; and particularly where the plan of a cross was adopted, the usefulness of such a building appeared in the intersection of the cross, adding strength to the whole by its incumbent weight on that part. (3) This is the short history of the origin of towers and steeples; which always have been, and still are, considered as the pride and ornament of our churches. (4) To these remarks may be added, that to the variety those structures have in their local forms and situations, the relative beauty and dignified appearance they give to the cities and towns of which they form a part, is no less an object of delight to the beholder, than their immediate use. And few of the principal cities and towns in England can better exemplify the force of this observation, than the city of Worcester itself, viewed from any point of the compass whatsoever.

ROOFS AND VAULTING.

The vaulting of the several parts of the cathedral, the roofing of which was originally principally constructed of wood, (excepting the side iles of the choir and St. Mary's chapel, which had their roofs vaulted, or arched with stone) was now undertaken and completed in the following order. Bishop Cobham vaulted with stone the roof of the north ile of the nave,

(1) Bentham's Ely, p. 40.

(2) The campanile, or that particular tower allotted for the use of bells, was sometimes a distinct separate building of itself (as anciently at Worcester, in the leaden spire, and at Evesham, in latter times in Abbat Litchfield's tower, continued indeed to this day), but was more commonly adjoined to the church, so as to make part of the fabric, and usually placed at the west end. [Vide Monast. Angl. vol. I. p. 995.]

(3) See this explained by Sir Christ. Wren, in his letter to Bishop Sprat, in Widmore's Hist of Westminster Abbey, p. 53. In his Parentalia, p. 301, he further observes, "that addition of weight is required to establish solidity and firmness in buildings where their thickness cannot be added to; and this is the reason why in all Gothic fabrics of this form (Westminster abbey) the architects were wont to build towers or steeples in the middle, not only for ornament, but to confirm the middle pillars against the thrust of the several rows of arches which force against them every way."

(4) Bentham's Ely, p. 30.

which at his own expence he completed A. D. 1327, the year in which he died, and was interred in it, opposite the window west of Jesus' chapel. (1) This is the first mention made of vaulting this church with stone. That bishop is also said to have vaulted some other parts of it with the same material. The ancient covering the church received prior to this era was formed of wood; an opinion strongly supported by W. Malmsbury, in his remark on the first calamity it sustained from fire, A. D. 1113, that "not the whole church, but only the roof was burnt." (2)

In 1375, the chapel of the blessed Mary Magdalen was vaulted.

In 1376, the choir, the great cross ile, and the altar of St. Thomas were vaulted.

In 1377, the vaultings over the nave of the church, the library, and the treasury, were completed.

The fashion of these vaultings partakes both of those of the time of Henry III. and of Edward II. The ribs are of freestone, arising from their impostes and spreading themselves over the inner face of the arches, and with transoms dividing the roofs into angular compartments, ornamented at their intersections by orbs, foliage, heads, and other embossed devices. (3) Under the belfry the springers are more enriched with tracery, than in any part of the roofs, which has a very rich and beautiful effect. This sort of tracery in vaultings is among the graces peculiar to the Gothic mode of building, and is never found in the Saxon or Norman structures. The arches of these roofs are of tuftstone, the tophus of the ancients, a concretion, in quality rough, light, and hollow. (4)

(1) Abing. MS. Lel. Itin. vol. VIII. p. 127. See also Appendix, No. VIII. p. xxxi.

(2) Lib. de Gestis Pont. (3) Bentham's Ely, p. 39.

(4) Sir Henry Englefield, Bart. in his "Observations on Reading Abbey," says of the semicircular arch of the hall, that "it was vaulted in the intervals of the stone ribs with a curious substance, evidently a tophus, formed by some petrifying spring, and inclosing the impressions of twigs, &c. One leaf was very fair. The substance is very soft, and extremely light, bearing only the proportion of 66 to 161 of Portland stone." [Archæologia, vol. VI. p. 61. Art. 5.]

It is in this place necessary again to advert to the sculptural decorations of the church which yet remain unnoticed: I mean those heads and groups of figures which appear on the keystones of the roofs, more especially those in the Lady's chapel, and in the middle ile of the nave. To begin with the former, the one to the east has the holy Virgin with the infant Saviour in her lap. The next has a bishop, whom we may conclude to be St. Wulstan, the founder of the church; the third, St. Oswald; and the fourth, a crowned figure of King Edgar, the most munificent of the patrons of the ancient monastery. These are all whole length figures, and form the finishing points of the four arches included in the Lady's chapel. The keystones of the arches of the choir having only compositions of foliage upon them, we pass to the

THE DORMITORY. (1)

Near the lavatory, about the middle of the west cloister, is a door very handsomely arched, which was formerly the entrance into the dormitory, or great room, where the beds of the monks were placed. That building was begun A. D. 1375, and in August of the year 1377 it was furnished with beds. It was 120 feet long, and 60 feet wide; and its vaulted stone roof was supported by five large pillars, ranged along its centre. (2) It was at first an open hall, presenting at once to the keeper's (3) view the whole range of beds on each side, and all his sleeping family reposed therein. Afterwards the monks had their cells divided. Their rule obliged them to sleep always in their clothes, without taking off even their girdles. The ruin of this building forms now a garden inclosure, wherein may yet be seen,

latter, which has many excellent masks in it, particularly that in the centre of the last arch but one in Bishop Wakefield's work; it is a head encompassed with foliage, giving it much the appearance of the antique Medusa. Angels, bishops, and kings chiefly occupy the rest; some singly, others in groups, and each respectably.

On the South side, at the junction of the Saxon arches with the nave, are two figures on a line with the plane of the lower arcades, but attached to the Saxon pillar. The upper one is a grotesque, something resembling the harpy, as we find them represented; the lower one is a man standing in a sort of rostrum, as if preaching; but the head is gone.

It is at this part where we have another instance of demarkation in the building of this church: that the boundary of its nave, as designed by Bishop Blois, terminated at this place, these figures were meant to denote, in the same manner as those already spoken of at the west end of the choir had done, by directing their looks eastward. These figures are coeval with the nave; as are also those heads at the springs of the outer mouldings of the principal arches on the north side. The arches on the south side are wholly destitute of ornament.

The series of figures which are uniformly placed on the divisions of the arcades on each side of the middle ile of the Lady's chapel, the upper cross ile, the choir, and on the north side of the nave, were among the most respectable of the sculptures which adorned this cathedral. Many of them were single figures, others were groups of two figures, some seated, and others standing, and from their elevated situation appear to be the size of life. But their having received so general and severe a visitation from the ruthless reformers of another age, and their mutilations being so completely destructive, not a single trace of information has survived, to shew us under what order of the monkish tribes they should be classed. It may, however, be concluded, from the injuries they have sustained, that they held no subordinate rank in their legends. The heads of the whole assemblage are gone; enough, however, still remains of many of their figures, to confirm an opinion of their more than common merit, as the productions of art so ancient as near the middle of the fourteenth century.

(1) There was a more ancient dormitory in this monastery, part of which fell down A. D. 1302. [Willis's Abbies, vol. I. p. 303.] (2) Willis, from Dr. Hopkins. Abbies, vol. II. p. 263.

(3) The dortor, dortoir, or dormitory, was under the care of the sub-prior, called also master of the frater-house, and keeper of the freretory, or vice-prior. [Antiq. of Durham Abbey, 12mo.]

along the sides of its patched up walls, traces of windows and doors, after the Gothic model.

The spital, for lodging poorer travellers and pilgrims, was a room 50 feet in length, and 20 in breadth. (1) I know not where this building stood, if it were a detached one for that purpose; it is, however, probable, those lodgings were in a chamber, over the present west entrance into the north cloister, between the cathedral and the dormitory.

In the month of October, A. D. 1375, the new work about the stalls was begun. What this new work was, is uncertain, unless it were the preparation for erecting the stalls, which was done in the year 1379. (2)

A. D. 1376, the altar of St. Thomas was set up.

A. D. 1378, the treasury, library, and the water gate were erected. We have already pointed out the situation of the ancient library; the treasury was contiguous to it, over the south ile of the nave of the cathedral. It is supposed there must have been a gate to the river before this period.

In 1379, the area of the choir, and the chapels of St. Thomas and Magdalen were paved.

THE INFIRMARY

Of the convent was built the same year. The site of this structure was immediately westward, beyond the dormitory, from which it was separated only by a narrow passage, now called the Dark Alley, and on the verge of the Severn. It was there the monks, when sick, had suitable attendance, medicine, and diet. It was not unusual even for priors, under desperate disease, to be removed thither, in order to partake of its benefits. Two lofty walls of this building yet remain, and constitute, one of them the southern side of the eighth prebendal house, and the other the north side of the ninth prebendal house. The space now uncovered between these walls was anciently a public room, as appears from the stateliness of the windows, whose arches, still preserved in the north wall, were elaborately wrought. Either the hall or the chapel of the infirmary must have been on this lower floor; and in the story above were the lodgings of the patients.

I have already stated the particulars of the addition of the two Saxon arches to the nave, and making the great west window in 1380; and also

(1) Willis's Abbies, vol. II. p. 263. from Dr. Hopkins.

(2) Ex. Archives of the Dean and Chapter.

of erecting the north porch to the cathedral in 1386; some additions and improvements that were made about the altars of Sanctæ Crucis, and Sancti Edmundi Archiepiscopi, complete the catalogue of the very munificent works carried into execution under the auspices of Bishop Wakefield, between the years 1375 and 1386; during which period, John Lyndsey was sacrist, and William Poer was cellarer of this church. It is conjectured that the prior and convent were surveyors of those works under the bishop. (1)

To the preceding accounts of the progress of the building of the cathedral and the offices of the monastery, it will be proper in this place to notice those articles for devotional purposes, with which our cathedrals and conventual churches were usually supplied. (2)

THE ALTAR

Forms the principal object in all churches. In cathedrals, and even in rural churches, there were often more than one; and where that was the case, one of them was distinguished as the high altar, and always so called. The church of Worcester, as founded by St. Oswald, was furnished by him with no less than twenty-eight altars. (3)

Those altars with which the present cathedral was furnished, either by

(1) See Dr. Thomas's Survey of this Cathedral, p. 6. ex. Chartis W. Hopkins, D. D. Preb. hujus ecclesiæ. Abingdon's Antiquities of Worcester Cath. p. 22, 23. Willis's Abbies, vol. I. p. 304. vol. II. p. 262, and his Cathedrals, vol. II. p. 628.

(2) For a detail of the lesser class of church furniture, see Appendix, No. IV. p. ix.

(3) Abingdon's Hist. of this Cathedral, p. 2, 3.

The reason for so many altars being erected in the same church, is said by a learned author (Thorn-dike, Epil. p. 254.) to have been this: "There was a custom, which seems to come from undefiled Christianity, to bury the remains of the bodies of eminent saints, especially martyrs, under those stones upon which the eucharist was celebrated." Hence, at Canterbury, the head of St. Swithin was inclosed in one altar, the head of St. Fruseus in another, the head of St. Austreberta in a third; an altar was built as a repository of the body of St. Wilfrid; and one was erected at the tomb of St. Dunstan. The superstition incited by them, and their numbers increased so fast in different churches, as to exceed all bounds. But this evil cured itself; for the respect due to them from their votaries was at length abated by the imposition of false relics; insomuch, that when it was found that the same saint or martyr had more heads than one, and that it was become a dispute whether the right one was at Canterbury, or some other place, it was with some embarrassment that a priest of principle could repeat the litanies, the supplications, and the prayers ordered by the church for the true saint, to a doubtful one, and thereby abuse the faith of his auditors.*

* Batteley's Cantuaria Sacra, Part II. p. 25.

St. Wulstan, its founder, or subsequent to his time, which have come to our knowledge, from their situations being known, are the high, or choral altar; the altar of the blessed Virgin, in the Lady's chapel, beneath the great east window; the altar of Sanctæ Crucis, or the Holy Cross, in the great cross ile, where now the monument of Bishop Hough is placed; the altar of St. Simon and St. Jude, in the same ile, and where Bishop Madox's monument is erected; the altar of St. Edmund, whose chapel was in this south transept of the great cross ile; and the altar of St. John the Baptist, at the second pillar from the north-west support of the tower, in the nave. In addition to those, we find the following altars frequently mentioned, but their precise situations, or rather their true designations, cannot be satisfactorily ascertained; viz. the altars of St. Mary Magdalen, St. Nicholas, St. George, and St. Thomas. It is to be remarked, that although the high altars were not always placed against the walls, yet most of the lesser or requiem altars were; and that as the high altars have an eastern position in churches, so the lesser ones have generally that station in the various chapels, oratories, and other parts of the churches where they are erected. This distinction is evident throughout the cathedral of Worcester, in places where altars have anciently stood, whose names are now unknown. In the Lady's chapel the ascent to her altar still remains. In the north ile of that chapel, and parallel in situation, the ascent to an altar, formerly there, was taken away when Lady Middleton's monument was placed under its east window, prior to that of Mrs. Rae, since erected. In the south ile, under its east window, where now the consistory court is held, the ascent to an altar remains. In the Bishop's and Dean's chapels the ascents to their respective altars remain. The altars of the Holy Cross, of St. Simon and St. Jude, and of St. Edmund, in the great cross ile, had the same ascents to them. The altars of St. John the Baptist, in the nave, and of Jesus' chapel, which last was taken down by Dean Barlow, A. D. 1550, had each the like ascent to them. Every trace of the five last named altars was swept away by the late reforms made in those parts of the church, and for the reception of the monuments already mentioned. The altar in Prince Arthur's chapel had also an elevation at its foot.

The present times have much to lament the effects of those differences which formerly subsisted on the notable choice of two words—*altar*, or *table*; and also about where the article meant by either was to be placed

for use. Hence the incongruous appearance they make in our old churches, and more especially in our cathedrals; and hence the unnatural and barbarous conjunction of modern Grecian architectural forms and embellishments, that continually offend our sight, about an altar placed in an ancient Gothic structure.

The original altars, or tables, were all taken away, or destroyed, at the time of the Reformation, as objects of superstition. The destruction was continued through the puritanical period of the Usurpation, and its ruinous effects were so complete and general throughout the kingdom, that there is not at this time, in England or Wales, one to be found of greater antiquity than the Restoration. This fact was lately discovered, upon an inquiry of some judicious Antiquaries, with a view to the erection of an altar in the church of St. Catherine, near the Tower, that should correspond with that ancient fabric. (1)

Bishop Blandford gives us the following particulars respecting the ancient high altar of this cathedral, at the time it was receiving the prescribed regulations of the grand reform.

1547. The great brass candlestick, and the beam of timber before the high altar, were taken down.

1548. On the 20th of October was taken away the cup, with the body of Christ, from the high altar of St. Mary's church, (*i. e.* the cathedral,) and from other churches and chapels, (in Worcester).

1550. King Edward VI. commanded that all altars, crucifixes, and rood sellers should be pulled down, and to have long tables of wood, and thereupon mass said in English.

1551, August 12th. The high altar was demolished.

1556. The Lady's chapel was furnished with an altar. (2)

THE HOLY ROOD.

The rood was an image of Christ upon the cross, generally made of wood, and placed on a loft (3) erected for that purpose, just over the passage out

(1) Antiq. Rep. vol. IV. No. VI. p. 134. From Sir J. Hawkins. (2) Bishop Blandford's MS.

This took place when the choir was restored, after it had been destroyed in 1551; at which time also the high altar was replaced, and the upper windows of the eastern part of the church were new glazed.

(3) The place bearing the rood-loft was called a reredosse. Rode, or rood, is a Saxon word, signifying a cross.

of the church into the chancel, in the lesser or rural churches, where we now usually find the king's arms; and in cathedrals, and the larger churches, in that part which separates the choir from the body or nave, and where, as at Westminster, Canterbury, and at this and other cathedrals, the organ is now placed. The rood was not considered as complete, without the images of the Virgin and St. John standing on either side of the cross, in allusion to chap. xix. v. 26, St. John, "Jesus saw his mother, and the disciple standing by, whom he loved." The mystery covered by this device is said to be the church militant, denoted by the body or nave of the church; and the church triumphant, signified by the chancel, or choir; and that those who will pass from the sanctum to the sanctorum, a distinction by which the same places in churches are also known, must go under the cross, and suffer affliction, ere they can arrive at that felicity. This conceit exactly corresponds with the ancient heathen probation through the temple of Honour, in their progress to the fane of Virtue. These holy roods were of great esteem, and many miracles are pretended to have been done at and by them; one of the most famous was at Boxley, in Kent, of which Lambarde, in his perambulation of that county, has given a description. The festival of the exaltation of the cross, Sept. 14, and holy-rood day, is the same. (1)

CROSSES,

Were anciently as numerous in this, as in any other nation. Public crosses form a feature of church influence, that was contrived to embrace every possible means of arresting the attention of such, whose disinclination to, or whose situation in life admitted not of, the convenience either to attend the public duties it imposed, or to the forms of practical devotion. They assisted in spreading and establishing the powers of the church so universally, as to leave none ignorant of the obedience meant to be enforced and exacted of all, whether on their journeyings in their own, or in other countries, or whether in the transaction of any worldly affairs within their own, or in other cities, towns, or districts. Among the most celebrated in England, of modern construction, was the cross at Coventry, begun A. D. 1541, and finished 1544; an example of the perfection to which the Gothic stile of ornamental building had arrived. It was founded by Sir William

(1) Staveley, p. 199, 200.

Hollies, Knight, some time lord mayor of London. (1) The most eminent among the ancient crosses were those which the affection of Edward the First raised to the memory of his beloved Queen Eleonora ; of which, that near Northampton, another at Geddington, and a third near Waltham, are existing instances of superior excellence, and objects of admiration, to the present times. Of the several crosses erected in and about the city of Worcester, the high cross (2) before the ancient guildhall may be supposed to have been the most elegant, as well as the most eminent. It is, however, in vain to conjecture what its particular construction might have been. The grass-cross, situated where now the market is held, and still known by the name of the Cross, appears to have been next in consideration and consequence. (3) The cross at Losemore, the cross at Red-hill, that without Sidbury gate, and the one on the Tewkesbury road, as mentioned in the ancient perambulation of the city bounds, and in the visit of Queen Elizabeth to this city, may be considered as road crosses, stationed at the several entrances of the town, of which, probably, there were also others near some of the city gates, and at the bridge ; but of those we have no certain accounts. The ancient cross at the monument of Duke Wiferd and his Lady Alta, within the sanctuary of the cathedral, and that at Whitstanes, in the north suburbs of the city, were entirely devotional structures, and served the more immediate purposes of the church establishments near which they were situated, and of which they were appendages. They served also as places for receiving spiritual instruction from preachers appointed to give sermons in public, in imitation of the primitive practice, as hath already been observed, and as stations, at which religious ceremonies and processions began or ended, in the public pageants of the church. To the latter purpose, also, were those crosses appropriated, which were erected before the stadthouses, tolseys, townhouses, or guildhalls, of cities or corporate towns ; and may therefore not improperly be called civil crosses, from the general uses to which they were applied by the magistracy.

The ancient grants of our Saxon ancestors, from their brevity, even on matters of the utmost importance, shew us sufficiently that in those ages

(1) *Antiquities of Coventry Illustrated*. Collected from Dugdale's *Warwickshire*.

(2) That cross was defaced A. D. 1529. [Bishop Blandford's MS.]

(3) The grass-cross taken down, and market-house set up, A. D. 1578. [Ibid.]

civil contracts were not so frequently committed to legal forms for ratification, as since is become the practice.

In those ages too, when the qualifications of reading and writing were so confined, as to be considered as very rare accomplishments, even in characters of the highest eminence among the rulers of nations, and consequently still more rare among the common people, compacts were therefore simply made and entered into by men who intended no fraud, with the single but solemn appeal to that visible emblem of the Christian faith, the cross ; an appeal considered by them as a confirmation sufficient to hold good every sort of obligation, that the laws of the realm had not already specially provided a written process by which to render them binding.

This summary way of legalizing civil transactions, by saluting, touching, or swearing by the cross, (forms readily to be comprehended, and quickly dispatched) was among the provident expedients founded by the only power which alone had influence sufficient to establish its validity, the church. (1) Hence arose the crosses we find, or hear of by name, in those open places in cities and towns, where anciently all ordinary public business was transacted, and where now their marts, fairs, statutes, or markets, are still held, throughout these kingdoms. But at that important period, when the mask was withdrawn, that had so long shrouded the Supreme Being from men's eyes, which had been taught to view him through the most gross and vitiated mediums ; at that time, when crosses and images, blindly adored, were crumbled to dust, or reduced to ashes, before the face of the newly enlightened multitude, those oaths and asseverations, that had heretofore been conscientiously and decently addressed to either, were now heard on all and every frivolous occasion. It was now, that the tide of that senseless vice of common swearing broke in upon the orderly and decorous manners of society ; and " by the rood," " by the mass," and by every saint on monkish record, which but a while before would not have been uttered but with fear and trembling, became modes and phrases of general application, and mingled insensibly in the most common topics of conversation. (2)

(1) This custom, apparently, had its origin in patriarchal practice. The covenant on Mount Gilead, between Laban and Jacob (Gen. ch. xxxi. v. 44.) was witnessed by a heap of stones gathered together, and a pillar set up by Jacob, which he called *Galeed*, and seems to have been the prototype of those civil crosses.

(2) Sir John Perrot, supposed natural son of Henry VIII. is said by Dean Swift, in his preface to his

The evil soon rooted itself too deeply to be wholly destroyed ; for, instead of ceasing with its cause, the effect has evidently descended upon the present age, with accumulated atrocity, through the foul mouths of a too numerous crowd of common swearers and impious blasphemers.

IMAGES.

Among the ancient church furniture, images have made a considerable part, from a very early period of church history. To Egwin, the third Bishop of Worcester, and first Abbat of Evesham, is attributed the first pretence for introducing images into the churches of Britain : and their worship gained great fame to the church of Worcester, not only in England, but abroad ; (1) for, according to Bale, Egwin was enjoined by the Virgin Mary, when she appeared to him, to make her an image, which she would have worshipped at Worcester. (2)

In a council held at London, about the year 708, under Brithwald, Archbishop of Canterbury, and authorized by Pope Constantine, it was decreed, that images should be placed in churches, and honoured with the celebration of masses and adoration. (3) These are, however, supposed to have been only the images of the blessed Virgin, and of Christ, to whom those marks of devotional distinction were to be paid ; for it does not appear that the images of saints, martyrs, or other subordinate characters, were set up, or presented as objects of adoration, till near the end of that century, after the second Nicene council, held in or about the year 792. But upon the general admittance of images into the church, which then began to prevail, the second commandment was made to give way, and was accordingly left out of the decalogue : this omission may be observed in the preface to the laws of King Alfred, and in the old copies of the Saxon laws. The worship of images, therefore, obtained in the English churches from that time, until they were suppressed by an *ejectione firme* of the Reformation, a period of upwards of seven hundred years. (4)

Polite Conversation, to have been the first that swore by G***'s w****s. He was the son of Sir Thomas Perrot, Gentleman of the Bedchamber to Henry VIII. and Mary, daughter to James Berkley, Esq. [Granger's Biogr. Hist. vol. I. p. 144. 4to.]

(1) Lambarde, p. 408.

(2) Bale's Cent. 709.

(3) This account is given by the Magdeburgensian Centuriators, out of Nauclerus and Bale.—Cent. 700. cap. 91, 94, 99.

(4) Staveley, ch. 14. p. 238.

In the metropolitical visitation of Robert Winchelsea, Archbishop of Canterbury, (temp. Ed. I.) he

The abuses and pious frauds, discovered even in the best endowed and most celebrated convents, contributed to reconcile very many of their votaries to their suppression: and, as if one of the most atrocious deceptions practised in the worship of images should be reserved for public exposure and contempt, in the very place where the artifice was first broached, on the visitation of the church of Worcester, a very large image of our Lady, held in great reverence, was found, when stript of the veils that covered it, to be the statue of a bishop, ten feet high. (1)

On the 10th of January, 1547, all the images on the high altar, and throughout the church, and all the other churches (of Worcester) were destroyed. And on the 17th of May, 1560, the cross and images of our Lady were burnt in the churchyard. (2)

CHAPELS.

The example of almost every cathedral and principal church in Christendom proves the custom of chapels, dedicated to other saints than the patron saint of the general fabric, being erected, and set apart for their peculiar service; many of which have been constructed within them, and others have been attached to them from without. These internal subdivisions of, or external addenda to, the original churches, have often been made by families and persons of eminence, for the select purposes of their devotion whilst living, and for places of their sepulture at their decease. This custom has prevailed, from the earliest ages of the church in Britain, down to the Reformation, in the instances of kings, princes, prelates, nobles, and private individuals. The most remarkable and splendid of this kind is that which Henry VII. added to the church of St. Peter, at Westminster, emphatically called by Leland, *Orbis Miraculum*. That king is said to have built a ship and a chapel at an equal charge: and it is remarked, that whilst not so much as a plank of his ship remains, his chapel stands to this day, a lasting monument of his munificence and devotion. This chapel, however, as Mr. Walpole has justly observed, is properly but the mausoleum of that monarch,

made an order, or decree, which was confirmed by his successor, that the image of the saint, to whom the church was dedicated, should be set up in the chancel of every parish throughout all the archdeaconries of his province. [*Ibid.* ch. 8. p. 125, 126.]

(1) Burnet's Hist. of Ref. vol. I. Collier's Eccl. Hist. vol. II. p. 149. Staveley's Romish Horse-leach, p. 79.

(2) Bishop Blandford's MS.

he having built it solely for the burial place of himself and the royal family ; and accordingly ordering by his will that no other persons should be interred there. (1)

In the church of Worcester we are enabled to trace the following chapels. Our Lady's chapel, at the east end of the cathedral : of the foundation and dedication of which we have already treated. The inclosure of this chapel is described by Bishop Blandford to have been of white stone, and iron, within and without. It was demolished by Dean Barlow, A. D. 1550.

In the collateral iles of that chapel, the altars anciently placed under each of their east windows, sufficiently denote that a chapel was included in each : but to what saint or martyr they were respectively devoted, we remain uninformed.

A similar account to the preceding is all we can render of the two chapels in the north and south transepts of the upper cross ile, where altars were also placed. But we have farther observations to make on each. The chapel in the south transept appears to have received a name derived from the uses to which it has been formerly assigned, as the place of sepulture of the deans of this church. No less than four out of the first five of those dignitaries in succession, from the suppression of the ancient monastery, were interred there ; and, as if laying claim to the church, in bar of the exploded interest of papal pretension, and in favour of the reform, it has from thence been denominated the "Dean's chapel."

The chapel in the north transept has latterly been distinguished by no particular denomination. Its patron saint and its altar, which probably bore the name of that saint, are now no longer known. Modern events have frequently given occasion for substituting new names to places and things, formerly known by others. It has, doubtless, already been so with the Dean's chapel ; and the same fate, it is probable, may attend this, which the author humbly suggests may hereafter appositely enough be recognized by the name of the "Bishop's chapel," in contradistinction to the former, and in reference to the interment of Bishop Parry, whose monument is placed therein, its forming the right arm of the upper cross, and its being on that side of the cathedral on which the episcopal residence is situated. It would,

(1) Dart's Antiquities of Westm. Abbey, vol. I. p. 32. Walpole's Anec. of Painting, vol. I. p. 49. in notes.



however, have been infinitely more gratifying to him to have been enabled to restore both those chapels to their original ancient patronage, than to have suggested the alternative proposed. Meantime, present possession may have its claim allowed, without material injury to past or future pretensions.

The vestry to the east we may conclude was also anciently a distinct chapel, the ascent to which remains at its present entrance.

The chapel of St. Edmund, wherein was a pair of organs, was situated in the south transept of the great cross ile, near the altar of St. Simon and St. Jude; and the chapel of St. George, made of timber, grated with iron, and furnished with a great pair of organs, the site of which is, however, not pointed out, were both pulled down by Dean Barlow, A. D. 1550. Chapels of the kind of the two last mentioned were mere inclosures at the end of an ile, or in the recess of some arch, as already intimated. It is probable that of St. George corresponded in situation with the chapel of St. Edmund, and was placed in the north transept of the same ile.

Jesus' chapel is still in being, and is coeval in its erection with the north side of the nave, to which it is attached. (1)

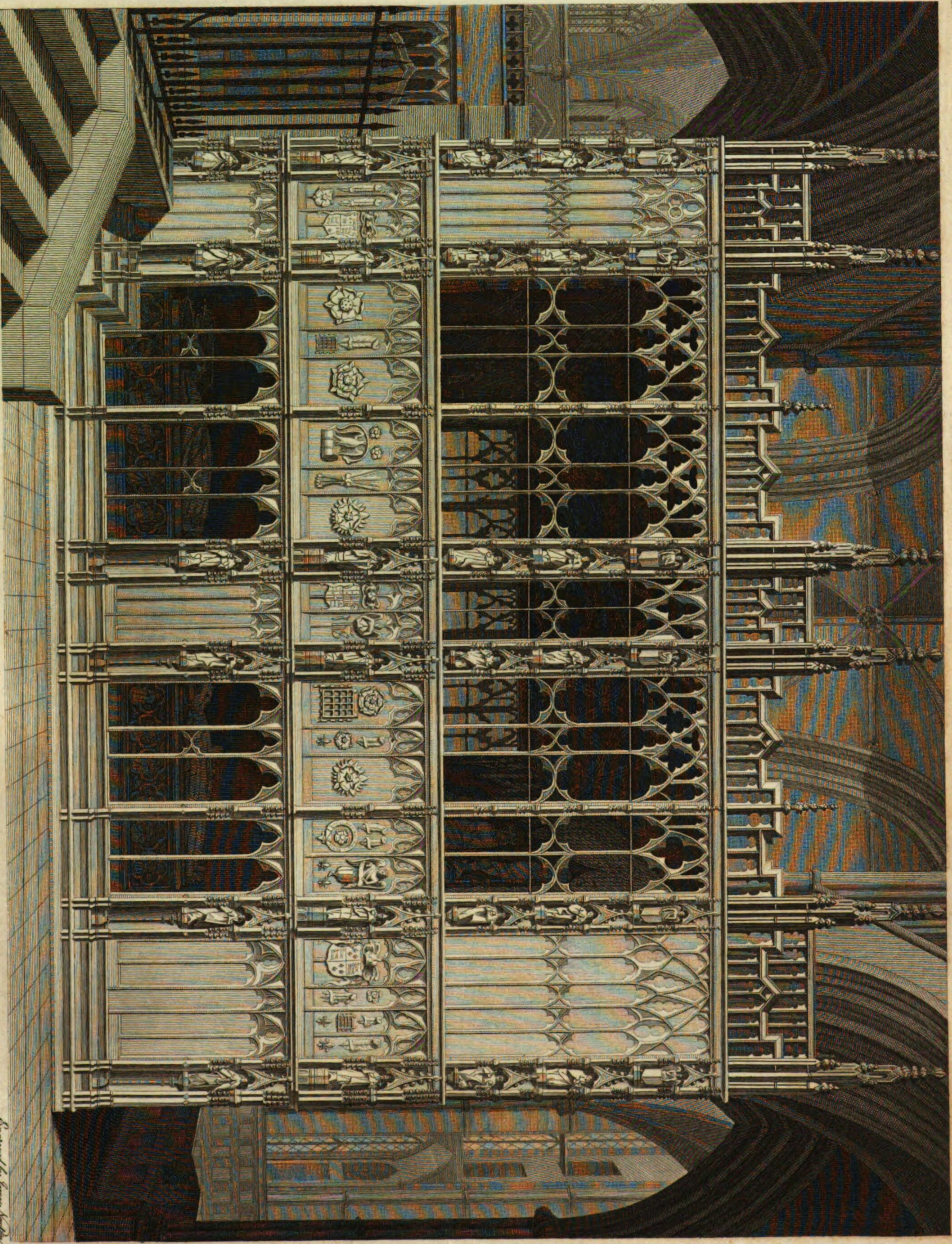
The chapel of the charnel house, in which a service adapted to its uses was appointed, had also its altar; that chapel, and we may conclude its altar also, were dedicated to St. Thomas the martyr. (2)

PRINCE ARTHUR'S CHAPEL,

Or mausoleum, (for I conceive it may properly enough be called by either name) is the most distinguished and elegant example of that class of structure, in the Gothic stile, raised within this, or, I presume, any other church in Britain. It was erected A. D. 1504. Its form is an oblong square, situated intermediately in the space of the south sectional pillars of the upper cross ile, at that end of the high altar where its entrance is provided. An altar was placed in its inside, at the east end, beneath the figure of a dead Christ

(1) Over this chapel, and also over the north porch, it appears that lodgings had anciently been provided for those who were appointed to watch the church: a fire-place is found in each, and over Jesus' chapel a small oven is made in the wall of the north ile of the nave.

(2) On the obituary chapel, in the crypt of the cathedral, supposed to have been a place of sepulture of the family of Clare, Earl of Gloucester, we have nothing to add to what has already been stated respecting it. Chapels are frequent in crypts, and are usually dedicated to the patron saints of their respective founders. But of the dedication of this no account appears. It is indeed but conjecturally, that it can be classed as a chapel.



James Gage delin. 1791.

SOUTH FRONT OF PRINCE ARTHUR'S

CHAPEL, IN WORCESTER CATHEDRAL.



J. Andrew & John Dean of Worcester.

To the Honourable and Reverend D^r.

Respectfully Dedicated by His Most Devoted and

Engraved by James Gage.

at the foot of the tomb. Here prayers were offered by the devout, for the repose of the soul of the deceased prince. To the service of this altar, it is not improbable, that the affection of Henry VII. had provided a priest to administer religious duties, and a suitable endowment for his support. No proof, however, empowers us to offer this as a fact.

Unique in its design and execution, a decided deviation from the cumbersome mausoleums that had preceded its erection, the chapel of Prince Arthur appears an effort of considerable power, to get rid of that superincumbent decoration, with which too many of the monumental structures of that age are burthened; inducing no other sentiment in the mind stronger than that of a compassionate concern for the fate of a tomb, over which such a tremendous load of useless ornament hangs suspended, as by a thread, and threatening destruction to all beneath. (1)

The general design of this chapel is the history of the union of the two contending parties, that, under the distinct banners of a white and a red rose, had recently deluged an innocent and an unoffending nation with a waste of kindred blood, that would have appalled a savage to contemplate.—The closing of this direful scene the skilful hand of an unknown sculptor has treated with all the faithfulness and becoming decency, that the hand of pity itself would have bestowed, in veiling over a story never to be repeated, but with indignant execration, on the inhuman sacrifice made of the simple many to the sanguinary purposes of a tyrannical and ungrateful few. On

(1) The monument of Humphry, Duke of Gloucester, at St. Alban's, seems to have led in this heavy stile of tomb architecture. [Sandford, p. 318.] Those of Cardinal Beaufort and Bishop Wainflete, in Winchester cathedral, are of the same fashion. The chapel of Bishop Fox, in the same church, may also be classed with the others, as another instance of heavy grandeur. [See *Vetusta Monumenta*, vol. II. Plates XLV. XLVI. L.] Bishop West's chapel, in Ely cathedral, is one of the nearest approaches to the refined taste for which this at Worcester is so distinguished. [Bentham's *Ely*, p. 41.]

On this class of Gothic structures, and on tomb architecture, we are led to expect superior attention to the niceties of high finishing, than in more enlarged subjects. And here we may also remark, that excepting pinnacles, there is scarce any sort of Gothic ornament, which does not branch from the trefoil, quatrefoil, and cinquefoil, being but various modifications of it; of which species also are all the ramifications of the modern Gothic windows.* The various modes that have obtained at different periods in this stile of architecture, may be thus exemplified, *absolute Gothic*, unmixed with the Saxon, about 1220, (Salisbury cathedral); *ornamental Gothic*, 1440, (St. George's chapel, Windsor); and *florid Gothic*, 1500, (interior of King's college chapel, Cambridge, and Henry the Seventh's chapel, Westminster). †

* Mr. Walpole's Letter on the Subject of an History of Gothic Architecture.

† Oracle, Oct. 21, 1790.

the face of this sepulchre it is evident, that neither York nor Lancaster can boast a pre-eminence in the regard of the king : for it is a monument he has evidently devoted as a peace-offering to all who had borne a part in, or suffered from, the destructive effects of those perilous and distracted times, than raised as a trophy of supreme power exulting over an adversary subdued. The meek and pious Henry VI. (1) he has placed in contact with the impatient and impetuous Edward IV. Foes in the senate and in the field, at peace in their sepulchres, he has compelled them here to meet, and, as it were, in penance deplore the enormity of their ancient enmities, so ruinous to the welfare of civil society. Between these opposites, the universal Mediator "for peace and good will towards men," he has represented as having expiated all mortal offence, and reconciled man to his Maker. These contending kings are also brought forth, to witness the weakness of those bands, that, after their deaths, had been tied between their descendants, to bind up the wounds of public and private misfortune, burst asunder by the death of a prince, the first fruit of that union, and fondly thought to have been born to cement every jarring interest into one,—the public good. But alas! that hope, nipped in its bud, lies blasted and prostrate before them, and all its blushing honours compressed within the narrow limits of an unadorned tomb, and, as Speed in his Chronicle says, without any remembrance of him by picture. (2)

The figures of these kings have but lately become visible : the following is an extract from an account of their discovery in 1788, read before the Society of Antiquaries, London, March 19th, 1789, communicated by the author to the Rev. Mr. Brand, secretary. (3)

"SIR,

"In my visit to Worcester, in November last, for the purpose of completing my collections for a new edition of the History and Antiquities of that City and its Suburbs, a review of the cathedral made a part of my em-

(1) Henry the Seventh proposed to Pope Alexander VI. and to his successor, Julius II. to canonize this pious and unfortunate monarch ; but through the extreme avarice of those pontiffs, it was never effected.

Fuller has preserved some account of this transaction, and has rendered it in a very entertaining manner.

(2) P. 763. Images and statues were often termed pictures.

(3) With that paper the two drawings were also laid before the Society, made by Mr. James Ross, of Worcester, from which the engravings were executed for this work. See the annexed Plates of the "Internal View of the East End of Prince Arthur's Chapel in the cathedral of Worcester, as it appeared in November, 1788," and the same object, "in its present state." The notes and illustrations are now first added.



James Ross Delin.

James Newton sculp.

INTERNAL VIEW OF THE EAST-END  OF PRINCE ARTHUR'S CHAPEL, IN THE
CATHEDRAL OF WORCESTER, as it appeared in November 1788.

*To the Rev.^d Thomas Evans D.D. Archdeacon of Worcester, This Plate
(Presented by Him to this Work,) is most Respectfully Dedicated by his Most Devoted &
Obliged humble Servant
Valentine Green.*

ployment. On entering the chapel of Prince Arthur, the most complete example of what is usually called the Gothic stile of architecture that church has to boast, I was struck with the appearance of that part of its east end, which had ever been considered as a *ruin*, the consequence of the severe visitation of that city by the Oliverians, after the battle of Worcester, in 1651. That blank of rude plastering, formed of the coarsest kind of mortar, and occupying nearly one third of the whole façade, had not hitherto met with the attention it merited. It was not long before I convinced myself, that instead of its being the remains of an outrage committed on the embellishments of the chapel, it was, on the contrary, the friendly covering of something meant thereby to be preserved from injury: and this became the more apparent, by observing the projection of the whole mass of plastering to be nearly as forward as the projections of the canopies over the several niches. The divisions of the niches were easily traceable from those canopies, and are enriched with the same series of small imagery of bishops and confessors, as the corresponding divisions at the west end of the chapel.

“The remarks I had made were communicated to the honourable and reverend Dean St. John, to whom I had not then the honour of being personally known; but from whom, in consequence, I received a very polite invitation to accompany him to the chapel, where, in a few moments, he himself became so much assured of the conclusions I had formed on the subject being founded, that he could not forbear beginning the operation of removing the mortar, by the application of a penknife; and making a slight opening in the centre niche, struck upon the fibula (1) on the breast of the dead Christ, which unites the drapery on that part, and was found covered with gilding, a distinction on the ancient sculptures which occurs but in very few instances in this cathedral, excepting in armorial bearings.

“Evidence enough was now in view, that the chief ornaments of the chapel, as originally designed by the artists who constructed it, were there deposited, and would be found on clearing away the heavy mass of mortar with which they were enveloped. But before this operation should take place, I requested the indulgence of having a drawing made of that end of the chapel, as it then appeared: adducing as a reason, that how unpromising

(1) The fibula in the dress of the ancients was fixed to the mantle or chlamys. It is also the fastening of the chlamys either on the shoulder or on the breast. The tunic under the chlamys is fastened by belts. [Introd. to Gough's Sepulchral Monuments.]

soever the appearance the object then made, it might tend to encourage the attentive examiner into the constituent parts of an edifice so important as that of an ancient cathedral, to bestow more than a cursory view on those features of it, where something more than blank walls might be expected to appear, either from their situation, or some other local circumstances.

“As soon as the drawing was made, (which I may venture to remark is as accurate and intelligent as it is possible to be on so small a scale) the Dean and Chapter ordered the niches to be laid open; which was accordingly done with the utmost attention and care, and the figures, as they are represented in the drawing, were discovered.

“First. A religious character, on whose right shoulder a cross (1) is represented.

(1) It is necessary here to remark, that I had not seen the figures when this account of them was drawn up, and which is formed on the communications I received from Worcester. The signum here mentioned is not a cross, but more resembling the Roman capital T; and being placed high on the right breast, upon the chlamys, is not found to correspond with any of the insignia by which several others of the orders of the religieux are recognized, many of whom had crosses on their vestures, but were always on the left side, or on their breast. The Trinitarians had them on both.

It remains, therefore, difficult to decide, whether this figure be meant to represent the glorious Confessor, St. Nicholas, as he is usually called; the saint who may be said to have presided at the birth of Henry VI. (December 6th) to whom and to the Virgin Mary he has dedicated King's college, Cambridge, as appears from the charter of its foundation; or whether it be his patron saint, Thomas of Canterbury, denoted by that mis-shaped letter, and the ornament that appears resting on the bend of his right arm, somewhat resembling the fleureted top of a portable cross, often borne about by the ancient bishops; or, lastly, whether it be St. Antony, to whom the following particulars relate, are questions that may take place among the millions already propounded, and which still remain without solution.

The monks of St. Antony, who follow the rule of St. Austin, are habited in a cassock, a patience,* a plaited cloak, and a black hood. They have the letter T, of a blue colour, on the left side of their clothes. St. Antony is represented with a fire at his side, to signify his power in the cure of the sacred fire called by his name. He is also represented with a hog, denoting his curing those animals of all the disorders to which they are subject. [Emillianne's Hist. of Monastic Orders, chap. 14. p. 128.]

In the “*Histoire du Clergé Seculier et Regulier*,” vol. I. p. 192, under the article “*Les Chanoines de Saint Antoine de Viennois, Onzième Siècle*,” it is said,—“their habits were black, marked with a T in blue (un *Tau* bleu) on the outer robe and inner vest, on the left side or breast, in enamel, after the manner of the knights.”

James, King of Jerusalem and Sicily, recommended to his heirs and successors always to have a particular devotion for St. Antony, and always to wear hung round the neck a T in gold, and a little bell, the symbol of that saint, for whom he had great veneration, as appears by his will, made in the year 1403. [Ibid. p. 196.]

Quære. Did not the fashion of the ——— “Cross she wore,
“Which Jews might kiss, and infidels adore,”

descend from this ancient injunction down to the present times, without *Pope's* knowing the fact?

* The patience is only another name, to signify the two sides of the scapulary. [Ibid. p. 224, 225.]



James Ross Delin.

James Newton sculp.

INTERNAL VIEW OF THE EAST-END  OF PRINCE ARTHUR'S CHAPEL, IN THE
CATHEDRAL OF WORCESTER,  in its Present State.

To the Rev.^d Thomas Evans D.D.  Archdeacon of Worcester, This Plate
(Presented by Him to this Work,) is most Respectfully Dedicated by his Most Devoted &
Obliged humble Servant
Valentine Green.

“ Secondly. A king, crowned, in his regal vestments, and at his feet an animal, which is too much defaced to have its species ascertained.

“ Thirdly. In the centre niche, a mutilated figure of the dead Christ, the head and hands gone, and the lower extremities much injured. On the body are represented red spots, expressive of the blood which had issued from his wounds. The drapery in which this figure is placed is upheld by two angels, represented near the top of the niche, and is partly gilt.

“ Fourthly. Another king, crowned, and in his royal robes.

“ Fifthly. A figure in armour, much mutilated; the arms and the right leg gone. At the feet of this figure are the remains of an animal, sufficient to shew that it was meant as a dragon; and to establish an inference, that St. George was meant to be the character represented.

“ It requires no great depth of research, I conceive, to prove that the statues of the two kings were intended to represent Henry VI. and Edward IV. If the religious character which precedes the pious Henry, and was designed allegorically as much to depict the image of his mind, as the figure of a king does that of his person and elevated station; or if St. George, the Mars of England, be not enough to characterize the intrepidity of the Fourth Edward, who delighted in the feats of arms, let the external decorations of this chapel be put in the balance, and it will soon be found, that from the arms of each party, together with their several devices, and the symbols of union with which its south side is embellished, this mausoleum was erected as much to commemorate the important event of the coalition of the houses of York and Lancaster, of which those kings had been respectively the principals, as it was to form a repository for the remains of Prince Arthur, the first issue of their immediate representatives.

“ Of the internal ornaments of this chapel, Abingdon, the Worcestershire Antiquary, who wrote in the time of Queen Elizabeth, has given the following description, in his “ Account of the Cathedral of Worcester,” p. 14.
“ The east end, where once an altar stood, was sometime graced with rare
“ imagery work. Here are now painted *France* and *England* quartered
“ within the garter, supported with a dragon and a greyhound, all covered
“ with an imperial crown, and under, *vivat regina*,” &c. (1)

(1) To that description should have been added—“ garnished about with red crosses, inclosing the
“ white; and next, the same arms, also quartered, with a label of three, argent, supported by two stags,
“ proper, tyred and unguled, or; and over all a prince's crown, the vest adorned with ostrich feathers,

“ Dr. Thomas, in his Survey of the same cathedral, p. 36, has literally copied Abingdon's account, but he has somewhat more illustrated the subject by giving a plate of the north front of the chapel. (1) These were the authorities followed by me in the “ Survey of Worcester,” p. 76. Sandford in his “ Genealogical History,” p. 476, 477, has given a plate of the prince's tomb, (2) and an external view of the south side of the chapel, (3) but no account of its inside.

“ From what Abingdon has stated as above, it appears that the statues had been hid from public view before he took his account of the chapel, and that he had never seen them, but had received information that “ rare imagery work had formerly graced that part of it.” The mutilation of the figures appears to have been anterior to their being covered up, as near three parts of a bushel of their fragments have been found mixed with the mortar, and placed in the different cavities about them. (4)

“ The altar which Abingdon has noticed to have been in this chapel, was placed underneath the centre niche, at the feet of the dead Christ, and opposite the foot of the prince's tomb ; it was destroyed at the time the

“ the badges of Wāles, within princely crowns.” Two displays of royal arms were therefore painted on the same canvas or panel ; the first belonging to Queen Elizabeth, and the other to Prince Arthur, her uncle.

(1) A very imperfect performance.

(2) A decent representation.

(3) So incorrect as to become a reproach to the name of Hollar, whose work it is.

(4) Among which, painted in black upon the stone, was the following part of an inscription, viz. *Zpau*

According to Bishop Blandford's MS. A. D. 1547, Jan. 10th, all images on the high altar, and throughout the church were destroyed. This operation appears, therefore, to have preceded the act passed 1549, 3 Ed. VI. enjoining, “ that any images of stone, timber, alabaster, or earth, graven, carved, or painted, which heretofore have stood in churches, be removed.” A proviso, however, is added in this act, “ that it did not extend to such images as were of a civil use, or of a monumental kind.” This is evidently the period when the figure of the dead Saviour was defaced, as an object of worship, and most probably the altar beneath it was destroyed at the same time. It is probable, therefore, that those figures were left, and remained nearly in the state we now see them, till about the year 1560, or 1561.

Those who had been commissioned by Henry VIII. and Edward VI. to clear the churches of objects to which devotion had actually been paid, entered upon their business with too great a zeal for the reform, to give that discriminating attention to the objects, which their curiosity, value, or use entitled them to ; and the consequences were, that much property, learning, and valuable antiquities, were sacrificed to the blind fury of ignorant zealots, which the present times have to lament and execrate. Queen Elizabeth, in the beginning of her reign, found it so disgracefully unjust and barbarous, as to induce her to issue, “ A proclamation against breaking or defacing of monuments of antiquitie, set up in churches or other public places, for memory and not for superstition.” To each of which, the more to manifest her zeal, and restrain the sacrilege, she signed her own name, and caused them to be dispersed throughout all her dominions. [Strype's Annals, p. 185. Spelman's Hist. of Sacrilege, p. 290. Weever's Fun. Monum. p. 50, 51, 52, 53, chap. 10.]

figures were covered up, and when the painted arms he has described were placed before that plastering which has just now been removed. Of those arms it must be noted, that no trace is left of the time they were taken down, nor of what has since become of them. (1) I can readily admit that some of those parts of the figures, which originally projected beyond the line of the canopies above, or that of the base below, on which they are placed, were broken off to reduce the whole to an even surface, for the purpose of re-

(1) It is, I conceive, most likely that they gave way in their turn to democratic prejudice against regal power, and that the parliamentary reformers tore this insignia of royalty down, at the time of the siege of Worcester in 1646, and left that part of the chapel in the state in which it remained in November, 1788.

The following extract from a collection of letters, published by J. Carte, 1739, (2 vol. octavo) will serve to shew what was then done in the church of Worcester by that party. Vol. I. p. 15 ;—“ *Arthur Trevor to the Marquis of Ormond.*

“ From Oxford I came to Worcester, which I found under the government of Sir W. Russel, the high sheriff for the county, and therein a good garrison for his majesty, and well fortified by the parliament; who, when they were there, were fain to employ their soldiers in throwing up ditches at 12d. *per diem*, who would else be pulling down the cathedral for nothing.

“ The organs, being two fair pair, all the bishops beards, noses, fingers, and arms and all, if they had white sleeves, were broken. King John, and the other kings that lie interred there, have not passed better in this quarrel than with cracked crowns.

“ In all the corners of the church are the droppings of these unclean birds visible, preserved almost without putrefaction, to witness the impiety of that party. A grave man, one for his life and learning I may call a father of that church, shewing me these *purgamenta*, with tears in his eyes told me, that with those eyes he saw divers of them ease themselves in the font, and upon the communion table, calling to them that cheerfully looked on, to name the child, and sign it with the sign of the cross. This I am bold to acquaint your honour withal, to let you see they have raised a spirit that they cannot tell how to lay again; for in all this hurley-burley their general or officers durst manage no other instrument of correction in their hands than their hats.”

To the same purport is another extract from, “ *A Short View of the late Troubles in England, &c.*” printed at Oxford,* 1681, wherein, under the date of “ Sept. 24th, 1642, page 557,” it states that “ When their whole army from London, under the command of the Earl of Essex, came to Worcester, the first thing they did was the profanation of the cathedral, destroying the organ, breaking in pieces divers beautiful windows, wherein the foundation of that church was lively historified with painted glass; and barbarously defacing divers fair monuments of the dead. And, as if this were not enough, they brought their horses into the body of the church, keeping fires and courts of guard therein; making the quire and side iles, with the font, the common places wherein they did their easements of nature. Also, to make their wickedness the more complete, they rifled the library, with the records and evidences of the church, tore in pieces the Bibles and service books pertaining to the quire, putting the surplices and other vestments upon their dragooners, who rode about the streets with them.”

So wantonly wicked and shamelessly indecent were they in this their savage visitation of the church of Worcester, that whenever their subsequent enormities committed at other places want force in their description of them, they are usually pronounced “ to have been as truly horrible as those they perpetrated at Worcester.”

* Said to be written by Sir William Dugdale. Vide Grey's Hudibras.

ceiving the queen's arms as an object of civil worship, superseding what was then become obnoxious to religious veneration.

"So long since, therefore, as that period of Queen Elizabeth's reign, in which she assumed the decided independent government of the church, have these statues been secluded from observation, and this elegant structure bereft of its choicest ornament.

I am, Sir, &c.

March 12th, 1789.

V. GREEN."

The design of this chapel was evidently defective while those figures were detached from it, and remained unseen. They were intended to form the groundwork of its purpose, to which every other part of the structure has a reference. And as indispensable to its history, they are thence seen to occupy the first station in its arrangement.

It is neither incurious, nor unworthy of remark, that these objects which had their origin in the purity of paternal affection, mingled with the ardency of pious devotion that characterized the age in which they were produced, in less than fifty years afterwards became utterly obnoxious, from that very devotion that had called them into existence, which, from its having not only become suspected, but convicted, of fostering principles inimical to civil authority, for that offence was rooted up and abolished. To that exploded influence, regal power, consolidating spiritual and temporal interests, succeeded, and in both functions became absolute. The next century saw the complete overthrow of that system, and the iron age of democratic usurpation and fanatic hypocrisy prevail. Scarcely half another century elapsed, in the early part of which period a restoration of royal authority was effected, and in the latter part a Revolution took place, that elicited a constitution capable to stand the test of time, guarantee the blessings of union and peace to future ages, and has thence "made these odds all even." Such have been the great national vicissitudes the two last centuries have witnessed, and to which the narrow spot we have thus long been busied about, has borne more than a common share of interesting testimony. (1)

Considered as one of the earliest efforts existing of that class of refined Gothic art that has ventured to address itself to the sublimity of sentiment, and not less successfully directed to the judgment than to the passions, we cannot but admire the skill with which its leading points are managed. As

(1) For the measures of this chapel, see Appendix, No. XXXII. p. cxxix.

a lesson prepared with profound reasoning, capable of inducing wholesome reflection in minds at all susceptible of thought, this "sermon in stone," which even he who runs may read to the most useful purpose; this spectacle of solemn magnificence, teeming with instruction, produced in that eventful age for pure Gothic architecture, in which its modest and simple beauties bloomed and expired, cannot be contemplated without pleasure, nor studied without advantage.

From the dates of the foregoing events we may gather that either the figures in this chapel, which had been defaced in 1547, remained exposed in their mutilated state till the first of Queen Elizabeth's proclamations appeared, enjoining all destruction of that sort to be made good, and that then the expedient was resorted to of setting up her arms to cover the outrage altogether, by a political act of ecclesiastical grace, after they had openly borne their injuries for fourteen years; or that the same expedient was postponed till after the appearance of the second proclamation, which extends their ruined exposure to the term of twenty-six years, and brings the restoration of that part of the chapel, by the introduction of the painting of the queen's arms, to within two years of her majesty's visit to Worcester, A. D. 1574, and so opportunely as just to save the church from her probable displeasure.

SHRINES.

In this church there is now no trace to be found of either the fixed or the portable shrine. The usual situation of the former sort was between the high altar and the extreme east end of our cathedrals, as at Canterbury, Durham, Westminster, &c. The fixed shrines are supposed to differ in little else from the grand sepulchral monuments, than as the former contained the relics of canonized persons, and the latter those who were not so. The portable shrines were used in processions, and were called *Feretra*; the immoveable ones had also that name, though not with equal propriety. The cost and magnificent splendour bestowed on the fixed shrines in many instances, made it necessary to appoint a *custos feretri* to prevent their being spoiled of their jewels and other valuable enrichments by those who might visit them for other than religious purposes. The one at St. Alban's, and the Confessor's at Westminster, were so watched, each by a monk; and at Canterbury, an inclosure of Becket's treasures preserved them from the

hands of the sacrilegious, and kept the wondering spectator at an awful distance, to admire and to adore. The shrine of the three kings at Cologne, rich beyond computation in its jewels and precious stones, can only be entered by one or two persons at once, who are always attended by a canon of the church. The history of all those churches wherein the tombs or shrines of sanctified persons were deposited, prove that the manufacture of miracles was among the most productive sources of their revenue. In the ancient church of St. Peter at Worcester, it appears there was more than one shrine; for the spoils of the Conqueror from *off the long shrine*, were 8 pounds of gold or silver; another shrine at least is therefore implied in that account. It is probable one of them was that of St. Oswald, whose relics on the opening of the present cathedral, were put into a *new shrine*; but to whom the other might belong is not known. The tombs and shrines of our Worcester saints were in existence at the same time: and at each the devout were accustomed to offer up their prayers; for their reputed holiness was second to none in the calendar of those ages. Their shrines seem to have been of the portable kind, as distinguished by Dr. Stukeley. (1)

RELICS

Of saints, martyrs, and holy men, according to the eminence of the characters to whom they belonged, acquired a proportionable reverence for those churches in which they were deposited. Of these there have been only two in the church of Worcester, to whom miracles, or any supernatural influences, were ever attempted to be attributed, those were the Saints Oswald and Wulstan. In the *Monasticon Anglicanum*, and therein as a specimen for the whole, let the abbey of Glastenbury suffice for all their extravagancies united. In the instance of St. Wulstan, already stated, we find one of their practices of dividing the bones of the objects of their veneration, and thereby of enhancing the reputation of some less fortunate churches, by retailing to them a rib, an arm, a toe, or any other portion of the body; and the certain consequence of such benefactions was an augmentation of their revenues, from the piety of those who resorted to them as objects of adoration.

We find also that to enrich the stores of relics in the greater churches, they were frequently not only presented, but most probably bartered and

(1) Phil. Transac. No. 490, p. 580. Archæologia, vol. I. p. 23, Art. V. Observations upon Shrines, by John Loveday, Esq.

exchanged. It appears from the paper already quoted, that the church of Worcester had supplies from other quarters, among which were, "a arme of Seynt Edmund the Bysshoope; a arme of Seynt Romane the Bysshope coveryde yn certen placis with selver; una vitta cirra caput Ste. Margarete, with selver with other garnyssynge with selver abowte the hede, xi thousande ṽgyns, in parte of a skul; of Herffords tombe garnyssyde in gold and gylte." In the same paper we have already found, in "the farce their miserable relics played," that the Worcester saints had not been suffered to remain idle after their deaths, and that while some parcels of their bones lay in their tombs, and others in their shrines, their heads became furniture for the treasury; and in this third remove from the grave, were again made subservient to the avarice of religious imposition on the multitude, and shared a third time in their devotions within the pale of the same church.

In the council of Trent a provision was made, that no relics should be admitted but such as were first approved by the bishop. And that of the Lateran, which decreed that none should be worshipped but such as were stamped with the pope's authority, was approved and confirmed, in a synod held at Exeter, by Bishop Wyvil, A. D. 1287, with farther provision to prevent counterfeits. Another held at Winchester, A. D. 1308, decreed similar preventives; but all could not effect a cure. The measure of their imposture was not yet full, and it remained for the Reformation at once to discover the meanness of the fraud, and to abolish it altogether. (1)

FONTS.

When the first use of fonts began, they were set up in private houses. That sacrament, in the times of persecution, was obliged to be administered in solitary places, amongst other ceremonies used by the primitive Christians, till in more peaceful times, they drew nearer, and placed their fonts at a little distance from the church or oratory. They were afterwards placed in the porch; and lastly in the church itself. Their situation is usually near the entrance, because baptism is the sacrament of initiation, or admittance into the church. Anciently there was but one font in a city, and that was placed in or near the principal of its churches. Its name is retained from the primitive custom of baptizing in rivers and fountains. Their first introduction was into cathedral churches, where the bishop re-

(1) Staveley, chap. 13. p. 200.

sided, and where the right of baptism and sepulture belonged. (1) Among the ceremonies of the ancient church there was one called "Font hallowing," and which was performed on Easter even, and Whitsunday eve. That ceremony ceased in this cathedral on Easter even, A. D. 1549. (2)

The ancient font of this church was placed on the west side of the second pillar, below the great cross ile, near the upper south entrance of the nave, and opposite to the altar of St. John the Baptist, which stood at the foot of the corresponding pillar on the north side of the nave, near Jesus' chapel; according to Leland, it was of black marble, with an inscription upon it, which he copied, viz. *Inscriptio baptisterii in nigro marmore.*—"Hic fons est vitæ, mundandi quicunque venite. Suscipit ista reos, et parit unda deos." (3)

It is not unusual to find the more ancient fonts much embellished with sculptures of saints, and scriptural history; and being a part of church furniture, not unfrequently votive, they are sometimes distinguished with armorial ensigns, denoting their benefactors.

PAINTED GLASS

Is supposed to have been general in its use in our churches in Henry the Third's time; although even plain glass windows were very rarely found in any other building, excepting the houses of people of the highest distinction, before the time of Henry VIII. (4)

The church of New Sarum was one of the first that received this captivating ornament in its windows, of which they had both painted and stained glass. (5)

The ancient windows of this cathedral had never any very remarkable decoration of this kind to boast, beyond crowned or enthroned kings, praying prelates, or priors, kneeling knights, or pious ladies, and these very "thinly scattered to make up a show," compared with many others of our cathedral churches, of inferior note. (6) The number of coats of arms was so considerable at the time Mr. Abingdon took his account of them, that he judged it proper to notice none that had been put up within one hundred years preceding his taking his survey of this cathedral. (7)

(1) Staveley, chap. 13. p. 216. (2) Bishop Blandford's MS. (3) Lel. Itin. vol VIII. p. 129.

(4) Aubrey's MS. Ashm. Mus. Oxon. Antiq. Rep. No. II. vol. III. p. 46.

(5) Pile's Observ. on that Cath. p. 65. (6) For a list of the figures formerly put up in them, see the Append. to this sect. p. xii. No. VII. (7) See p. 1, 2. His list is notwithstanding very numerous.

The names and arms of other benefactors to the monastery were also painted on the windows of the cloisters, the chapter house, and the refectory, of which Symonds has drawn many, and noticed near two hundred others. (1)

These combined objects formed the whole of this species of embellishment the church of Worcester possessed.

The vigilant discrimination of Dr. Thomas has given names to many of them, which had not been known to Mr. Abingdon, and many illustrations of which they stood in much need, to be at all useful; (2) and to the same end Dr. Nash has also been eminently instructive in his collection of the arms of the Worcestershire families. (3) These heraldic memorials of personages and families formerly connected with this church, either as members of, or benefactors to it, are so amply enumerated by those learned Antiquaries, to whose accounts reference may be had, as to preclude the necessity in this place, to repeat what is already more than a twice told tale.

PICTURES,

Had never found a reception in our churches to any considerable extent. The art of painting in England had not arrived to an eminence sufficient to add incitement to devotion, or strength to the interest of papal delusion, to be called into the service of the church, or to reap the fruit of its powerful patronage; (4) whilst on the Continent it had been so successfully cultivated, as to have become one of the most attractive expedients the subtlety of the conclave could have devised, whereby to augment the splendour of the ecclesiastical establishment, and confirm its duration. At that period, when the power of the church in England had become obnoxious to the will of the king, and when, in consequence, its altars were stripped of their embellishments, the Raphaels, the Michael Angelos, and the great masters of the other Italian schools, were rendering their churches and their palaces, the result of their superior talents, and themselves immortal by their works.

(1) See his MS. church notes, vol. II. Harl. Coll. No. 965. Art. XVI. Brit. Mus. He says "in the convocation or treasury windows, a circular building (the chapter house) now used for the magazine of the garrison, were fifteen coats," drawn by him.

(2) See his Survey of this Cathedral, p. 11.

(3) In Appendix, vol. II. p. 83.

(4) On this subject, see farther in "a Review of the Polite Arts in France, at the time of their establishment under Louis XIV, compared with their present State in England," in a letter to the late Sir Joshua Reynolds, President of the Royal Academy, by the Author. Quarto. Cadell, 1782.

But excluded here from the only prospect they could have hoped, by which to have become known and respectable, chilled and repressed in their outset (for Holbein had appeared among us), the arts sought and happily found refuge in climes more congenial and propitious to their growth; and it has remained till the present age, to see them called forth, and become a new source of honourable estimation, in a country unaccustomed to act secondarily in whatsoever relates to intellectual and elegant refinement.

The church of Worcester has had no example of ancient art that has survived the wreck of the Reformation, or that has even obtained the honour of a place in the inventories of its spoliations.

ORGANS,

As we now have them, supplied with bellows, and played by keys, are among the very early articles of furniture introduced into our churches; they are said to be an Eastern invention, and as early as the fourth century. At what period they were first brought here has not been ascertained.

Sir Henry Spelman conceives there were organs in England in the time of King Edgar, about the year 958. (1) This is confirmed by William of Malmsbury, who says the famous Dunstan gave to the church of Malmsbury an organ with brass pipes. (2) And Alwyn, alderman of all England, who flourished about the same time, laid out the sum of thirty Saxon pounds, in building an organ in the church at Ramsey abbey, which had pipes of brass or copper, and was blown into by bellows, played upon with keys, and furnished with proper stops. (3)

The Anglo-Saxons were so much attached to psalmody, that the services of their cathedrals and monasteries seemed a continued strain of chanting and sacred harmony, kept up by a succession of priests day and night. (4) The introduction of the organ was a happy and great improvement to that taste; the vocal chorus became more full and grand in its musical effect, and more solemn and sublime in its devotional sentiment. Most of the penances imposed were redeemable by singing a number of psalms, or repeating the Lord's prayer so many times. The pater noster, and the 119th psalm, sung six times over, would redeem the penance of a day's fasting. (5)

(1) Splem. Gloss. in verb. organum.

(2) Malms. de Pontif.

(3) Hist. Ramsiens. apud Gale, c. 54.

(4) Muratori Dissert. T. 4.

(5) Johnson's Canons, A. D. 963. Strutt's Chron. vol. II. ch. 9. p. 256, 257.

In the injunctions of Queen Elizabeth respecting the Reformation, singing in churches was among the first of the clauses. She recommended it to be kept up, to preserve the science and advantages of music; that therefore all maintenances settled for the service of the choirs should be continued. That the affectation of skill should not be carried so far as to make the use of the church service less significant; and that the common prayer should be sung in so plain and distinct a manner that the pronunciation might be altogether as well understood as if it had been read. However, for the satisfaction of those that were particularly pleased with music, a religious anthem was allowed at the beginning or end of the service. Pursuant to this order, in most parish churches the psalms were sung in plain song, being changed from antiphones into metrical psalmody, which was at that time called Geneva psalms. (1) In the queen's chapel, in cathedrals, and in colleges, the hymns were sung in a more refined manner; and to render the performance more solemn and impressive, organs and other instrumental music were made use of. (2)

In the cathedral of Worcester, we find mention made of several organs having been erected for the use of its choir and chapels. The chapel of St. Edmund, wherein was a pair of organs, and the chapel of St. George, in which was a great pair of organs, were pulled down by Dean Barlow, A. D. 1550. The great organ (supposed to have been in the choir) was taken down on the 30th of August, 1551. In 1556, a pair of organs was set up on the north side of the choir. (3) These, it may be supposed, remained till the civil wars in the next century, when it appears that the two fair pair of organs, which were found in the cathedral, were broken. (4) Mr. Townshend in his Journal of the Siege of Worcester, A. D. 1646, thus mentions the same fact:—"23d July. This day many gentlemen went to six o'clock prayers to the college, to take their last farewell of the church of England service, the organs having been taken down the 20th." (5)

The organ of this cathedral, which with its gallery terminates the west end of the choir, consists of nine stops, and is esteemed a fine instrument.

(1) *Archæologia*, vol. II. p. 22. Art. IV. (2) *Collier's Eccl. Hist. of Brit.* vol. II. B. vi. p. 433.

In the great Synod held at Westminster in Jan. 1562-3. Dr. Wilson, afterwards Dean of Worcester, was one of those who voted for the removal of organs out of churches, which was thrown out of the lower house of convocation by one vote only, viz. 59 against 58. [*Dr. Nash*, vol. II. p. 318.]

(3) *Bishop Blandford's MS.*

(4) *Carte's Letters*, vol. I. p. 15.

(5) *Dr. Nash*, in Appendix, vol. II. p. 105.

It is of a dimension proportioned to the church, and forms a magnificent object, viewed either from the nave or the choir. In the account of its erection, in the archives of the Dean and Chapter, as produced by Thomas Dallam, organ maker, in 1613, it is termed "the new double organs." The expence attending its building was defrayed by a voluntary contribution. On the west front of its gallery, on the cornice, is the following inscription: "These honourable and worshipful gentlemen, whose arms are here placed, were contributors towards this gallery, anno Domini, 1614." (1)

On a plane in the centre of this front, is a painting of the Virgin Mary, with our Saviour in her arms; underneath which the arms of the see are represented, displayed by two naked boys withdrawing a large drapery from before them.

The east front of the gallery towards the choir, has a good imitation of a marble parapet, or screen, inclosing the floor of the gallery over the stalls of the choir. On this side the lesser or chair organ is seen, as communicating with the great one; it consists of five stops. In its painted decorations, the arms of the see are represented as on the west front; over which, answerable to the situation of the virgin and child, as already described, an angel is seen sounding a trumpet, and holding an olive branch in his left hand. The carvings on the top are the king's arms, without the supporters, from which, on each side, a bold festoon, richly composed of flowers, fruits, &c. is suspended. At the bottom of the larger pipes, on each

(1) In the centre are three coats, viz. the arms of the see of Worcester, impaling those of Bishop Parry; beneath which are those of the Dean and Chapter, and Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury. Then beginning on the north side of these are, Thomas Lord Windsor, Sir John Pakington and his lady, Sir Henry Bromley, Sir Edward Blount, Sir Thomas Russel, Sir Arnold Lygon, Sir William Walsh and his lady, Sir Edward Pitt, Sir Thomas Biggs, Sir Francis Egiocke, Sir John Buck, Sir William Sandys, Sir John Rous, of Rouslench, one unknown; Humphrey Pakington, of Chadsley, Henry Lygon, Thomas Russell, John Hanford, Edward Newport, of Handley Williams, Leonard Jeffreys, of Earl's Cromb, — Dingley, of Carlton, William Savage, of Elmley, John Washborne, Cornwall Baronai, Esqrs. Sir Edmund Wylde, one unknown; Sir John Acton, of Wolverton. On the south side, Lord Compton, — Lucy, Sir John Scudamore, one unknown; — Verney, one unknown, Sir Clement Throckmorton, Sir William Somervil, Thomas Spencer, of Claverdon, Esq. two unknown, — Talbot, two others unknown; Thomas Coventry, Esq. — Peto, quartering Loges, and Langley; the same, one unknown, William Gower, Francis Harewell, — Warmstry, — Copley, of Bredon, Esqrs. one unknown; Thomas Cocks, Esq. of Crowle, one unknown, William Richardson, Esq. and Dr. Helme, chancellor: in the whole fiftys-even coats. These, however, form but few more than half the contributors to the setting up of this organ: for the rest, together with the sums subscribed, and other particulars respecting this article, see the Appendix to this section. No. VI. p. xv, xvi, xvii.

side, are carved heads of cherubins. The pipes of the chair organ have their tops inserted behind the expanded plumes of a large cherub's wings, which spread over the whole line; a pretty design, but indifferently executed.

This organ appears to have survived the outrages committed upon the others found in the cathedral at the time of the great rebellion, without much damage: no account of its being either removed or repaired occurring till the early part of Dean Waugh's time, when the following chapter order was made, to complete the liberal repair it received under his direction, viz. "6 March, 1752, whereas it appears, upon experience, that two hundred pounds, formerly agreed on, will not be sufficient to add the stops that are wanting in the great organ, and to make it full, perfect, and complete in all its parts, ordered, that one hundred pounds more be allowed: in all three hundred pounds, effectually to repair and finish the same."

The trumpet stop introduced at this time is esteemed the finest of the kind in England: the stopped diapason is also peculiarly excellent. The great characteristic of this noble instrument is its sweetness and fullness of tone, to which this part of the cathedral, well adapted for sound, does the amplest justice, and "to the full voiced choir below." (1)

BELLS.

When the tower of the cathedral was completed, the bells, anciently but five, were removed out of the cloche, or leaden steeple, and placed therein; they were supposed to be equal to those of York, of which the largest weighed 6600 lb. There are now eight, but cast at different times; on which are the following inscriptions.

1. God save our king. 1640.—3. In honore Sci. Wolstan. Epi. +.—5. Richardo Eedes Decano. 1602. J. G. B. M.—6. Hoc opus inspicito, Jesu virtute faveto.—7. Miserere Deus meus: habeo nomen Gaufreus. (Arms France and England.)—8. I sweatly toaling, men doe call, To taste on meate that feads the soule. 1648.

Bells have always been considered a very convenient and necessary part of church furniture. Paulinas, Bishop of Nola, a city of Campania, about the year 400, has the reputation of their invention. But when or by whomsoever bells were first invented, it is certain that no country hath more of

(1) Milton, *Il Penseroso*.

them, proportionably to the number of churches, than England, which from thence has often been called "the ringing island." The use of the great ringing bells appears to have been very ancient among us. Ingulphus describes the first and best regular ring or peal of bells in England, cast and hung up in the church of Croyland abbey by the famous Abbat Turketulus, who died about the year 870. (1) St. Dunstan, who died A. D. 988, presented to Malmsbury abbey some large bells, and organs, at that time wonderful and strange in England. (2)

Early, therefore, after this period, we may date the building of those bell towers, or clocheriums, found erected near our cathedrals, for the reception of bells, which were now become a part of the appendages to all the great churches, more especially the episcopal ones of the island. Hence those of York, Canterbury, St. Paul's London, and Worcester.

Hence it may be supposed, that those churches which now have, or formerly had, those belfries erected near them, are of the most ancient now existing; the tower or towers that are found attached to, or erected upon them, being chiefly structures of a much later date than the churches to which they belong. Of this the cathedral of Worcester is an example.

Another church bell yet remains to be noticed. The small bell, (called formerly the sanctes bell) which we still find in many of our churches, was only used and rung out when the priest came to that part of the service, "Sancte, sancte, sancte Domine Deus Sabaoth!" purposely that they who could not come to church might understand what a solemn office the congregation were at that instant engaged in, and so even in their absence become at least sensible of their duty to God. For this reason the sanctes bell was generally hung where it might be heard farthest. (3)

CLOCKS AND DIALS

Were set up in churches in the middle of the seventh century. (4) There remain, however, no certain traces to whom this invention really belongs. The Greeks had their dials from the Jews; and to the diagram described upon the steps of the palace of Ahaz, a gnomon was added at Sparta, by

(1) Collier's Eccles. Hist. b. iii. p. 198. Ingulph. fol. 53. (2) Malms. de Pontif. lib. v. Edit. Angl. Sac. vol. II. p. 33. (3) Peck's Annals of Stamford, lib. viii. p. 51, 52. Art. 37.

(4) Stow says, that clocks and dials were commanded to be set up in churches by Savianus, the sixty-third pope. [Stow's Chron. p. 56.]

Anaximenes. The Romans distinguished the day merely by its two natural periods, sunrise, and sunset. Noon was ascertained and proclaimed by the crier of the consuls, when the sun was perceived betwixt two particular points of the forum. The first dial among them was placed on a pillar by the rostrum; and although inaccurate, from the lines not answering with precision to the hours, it continued their standard for the division of time, till Scipio Nasica invented a horologe, which could be serviceable under a cloudy, as well as a sunny sky; (1) the first of which was introduced into Britain by Cæsar. (2) The one has received the appellation of horarium, or hour-glass, and the other the name of diale, a dial, or day-piece, among us. (3)

The honourable Daines Barrington, in his "Observations on the earliest Introduction of Clocks," says, "Dante seems to be the first author who hath introduced the mention of an orologio, which struck the hour," and has quoted the passage, (Dante Paradiso, C. x.)

In England, precisely about the same time, the famous clock-house near Westminster hall was furnished with a clock, to be heard by the courts of law, out of a fine imposed on the chief justice of the King's Bench, A. D. 1288. At Canterbury was another, A. D. 1292.

There appears no evidence of the exact time when this useful and important invention was introduced into this church, or rather into its service; as it was first placed in the leaden steeple; and on the demolition of that structure, and the removal of the bells, it was fixed in the tower of the cathedral, in which it now remains. Chimes were also added to its movements, but they are at present disused.

At the interment of King John, a present much more valuable than that of his body was made to this church. The close of the monastery had hitherto been much too narrow for the offices belonging to it. Ever since the reign of the Norman conqueror, whose sheriff, Urso d'Abitot, had carried the graff or mote of the castle nearer the church than had been attempted before, and had even, if we may believe William of Malmsbury, (4) taken away part of the burial ground of the monks, there had been strong complaints. A favourable opportunity of redress was offered in 1216, when

(1) Pliny, lib. vii. c. 60. (2) Cæsar, p. 89. (3) Whitaker's Manchester, vol. II. ch. 10. p. 127, 128. (4) Hemingus, who often complains of Urso's injustice, and mentions several encroachments that he made on St. Mary's land, says nothing of this.

the Earl of Pembroke and the pope's legate brought the king's corpse to be interred here. This great general, soon after made regent of the kingdom, undertook the enlarging of the church precincts, by granting, in the young king's name, the northern moiety, or outer ward, of Worcester castle, to the use of St. Mary's convent for ever. (1) The Italian legate, as if his master had a property in the demesnes of the English crown, concurred with the regent in the grant. Fifteen years after, the king himself confirmed it. The water gate, towards the river, (2) and Edgar's gate, which was the eastern avenue, are the only edifices belonging to this ward of the castle that were preserved. But on the site of it several modern buildings have been erected, to the east and south of the area, now called the College Green. Nay, Dr. Thomas adds, (on what authority I know not,) that even part of the present cloister stands on the ground that before belonged to the Norman fortress. (3) Soon after this donation, the prior and convent raised an embattled wall, to separate their new acquisition from the other moiety of the castle, which was reserved to the use of the king and his sheriffs. Part of this wall, extending from Edgar's tower, more than half way towards the river, is now remaining. (4) But, notwithstanding the grant of Henry III. the site of the demolished ward of the castle was still claimed by the sheriffs, who were Earls of Worcester, till in 1276 they relinquished all farther pretensions to it, in due form of law, in consideration of one hundred pounds paid by the monks. (5)

(1) Dugdale's Baronage, I. p. 227.
 Nor is it in the least improbable: for admitting the mote of the ancient castle to have approached no nearer to the cathedral than on a line from Edgar's tower, between the college green and the refectory, in its direct course to the Severn, there was then no great cause for Archbishop Aldred's denouncing the sheriff for his intrusion on the church, as there was then nearly as great a distance between the mote and the cathedral, as the cemetery on its north side occupied between the church and the bounds of its precincts towards the city. It is here also to be remarked, that it was no less a period than 155 years after Urso d'Abitot's time, that any building we now see south of the cathedral, and belonging to it, was erected, the first of which was the priory; and more than 300 years before the refectory, cloisters, and chapter house were built. To have been, therefore, that sort of annoyance to the church, as to have induced the venom of episcopal anathema, the course of the graff of the fortress most likely entrenched on holy ground so far as to cut off nearly half of the whole of the cloisters, as we now see them, in a direct line from east to west.

(2) The present water gate was built in 1378; but there

(3) Dr. Thomas's Survey, p. 7.

(4) Without this wall there was left a freeboard, or open passage to the river, at least sixteen feet wide: which has been since taken away, to prevent the escape of prisoners; and the county gaol (called the castle) is now contiguous to the wall. See Dr. Thomas's Survey, p. 8.

(5) Gough's Camden, vol. II. p. 366. in Worcester.

This agreement took place in the time of William de Beauchamp, IV.

Having carried down the history of this monastery to the time of its greatest opulence and splendour, it may not be unseasonable to speak, in this place, of its constitution and government.

A cathedral in the possession of monks appeared to foreigners an extraordinary sight. (1) There were in England seven cathedrals besides this of Worcester, so appropriated: Canterbury, Durham, Ely, Norwich, Rochester, Bath, and Winchester. Every cathedral-convent was governed by a prior, the bishop himself being in the place of abbat: but in process of time these priors obtained of the pope the honour of the mitre, and were placed in every respect on a level with the greatest abbats, except the honour of sitting with the barons in parliament. In the reign of Henry III. they had summons to parliament with the mitred abbats; but this privilege was not continued to them, because they held their baronies, not *in capite* of the crown, but under their respective bishops. Only one summons of the prior of Worcester appears: this was to the parliament of 1265, 49 Hen. III. (2)

In the earlier ages of this convent, the prior had the title of dean, which soon after the conquest was dropped; and in the times next preceding the Reformation, the more magnificent title of lord prior. He presided as judge in the courts-leet within the manors of the convent: to which anciently belonged *jus furcarum*, or the right of punishing felons by death on the gallows. (3)

The PRIOR: when the monastery became void of the prior by death, pre-ferment, or removal, the convent chose seven of the most sufficient monks, whom they presented to the Bishop of Worcester, that he out of these

(1) Annal. Waverl. p. 157.

(2) Steven's Mon. Append. p. 116.

(3) Hearne's Chartul. Wig. p. 541, 551. There was in this church a prison for convicted clerks, such as are now in gaol deliveries saved from death by reading. The porter of the palace was their keeper: his office was considered of that importance, that the chapter once refused to confirm a grant made of it by the bishop, unless the porter gave security for the safe custody of the prisoners; for in the vacancy of the see, the prior and monks being the chapter, stood accountable for the prison. Every clerk convicted was delivered out of this prison by the verdict of twelve clerks, by proclamation, which was called his purgation.* We can, however, neither trace its dungeon, nor the execution of any clerical criminal in consequence of the powers vested in the monastery to punish their delinquency. Of an imprisoned monk we have one example: the nature of his offence is given by himself;† but his fate is unknown.

* Abingdon's MS. p. 37.

† See Appendix, No. I. p. i.

might elect one to be their prior, whom he had power to place, but not to displace. During the vacancy of the priory the bishop might present to the parsonages and churches of the monks, and dispose of their escheats, wards, and marriages in their manors, but without prejudice to the priory. The convent, when the priory was vacant, did instantly certify the bishop thereof, and if the bishop was negligent in ordaining a successor, he was to lose the advantages which by the vacancy might otherwise accrue to him. The prior had in the precincts of the sanctuary a fair house, and all things answerable thereunto, and maintained continual hospitality; yet had nothing proper to himself. The officers of the monastery disposed of all, giving the prior money for the expences of his chamber only, as appeareth in the registry of the priory. (1)

Boniface, Archbishop of Canterbury, confirmed the following powers to the priors of this monastery, A. D. 1268.

“On the death of the Bishop of Worcester, the prior shall signify the same to the Archbishop of Canterbury, who shall appoint the prior to execute all things appertaining to the bishopric, during the vacancy.” The first instance which occurs of the exercise of this delegated authority, was on the death of Godfrey de Giffard, Bishop of Worcester, by John de la Wyke, the then prior, as commissary or official of the Archbishop of Canterbury. It appears from the various transactions of this monastery that the powers of the priory, as the chapter of the bishop, were very extensive and important. (2)

The Obedientiaries, or the principal officers of the church and monastery under the prior, were these: the sub-prior, sacrist, cellarer, chamberlain, hospitalarius, almoner, pittancer, coquinarius, infirmarius, præcentor, master of the chapel, and tumbarius.

The sub, or Vice-prior was principal assistant to the lord-prior when he was present, and acted in his stead when absent. He was also master and keeper of the freretory. (3)

The Cellarer's was a place of great trust, he had charge of all the granaries, storehouses, and cellars of the monastery; and delivered out meal to the bakehouse, salted provisions (4) to the kitchen, cheese and liquors to

(1) Abingdon's MS. p. 42.

(2) Ibid. p. 45, 46, ex. Registry of Worcester Priory, sede vacante.

(3) See Durham Abbey.

(4) The monastic rule required a total abstinence from flesh, except in cases of great decay, when a physician might direct the use of it. But as wealth increased, the

the refectory, hay to the stables, and fuel to the hearths. This officer must of necessity have many servants under him.

The Camerarius, or chamberlain, was overseer of the dormitory, and had the care of providing for it beds, towels, &c. and shoes and habits for the monks. He was also to provide for the accommodation of strangers while they lodged in the monastery.

The Hospitalarius, or hostler, presided in the guest-hall, entertained and attended on strangers, and was obliged to see that they wanted no suitable accommodation.

The Almoner had the distribution of the loaves and other alms to the poor.

The Pittancer was entrusted with the *pietantiæ*, which were extraordinary allowances of more generous aliment on certain holidays; as, the seven great festivals, and the anniversaries of founders and principal benefactors. In academical language, he was the furnisher of the gaudies: the stores of the cellarer being spared on those days, as liable to no demands but for stated and regular commons. (1) The live cattle kept by the convent were under the pittancer's care.

The Coquinarius, or kitchenier: Mr. Tanner, in his preface to Bishop Tanner's Notitia, confesses ignorance of the nature of this office; but it is very clear from the records of Evesham abbey, (2) that he was the market-man, who bought fresh provisions, fish, &c. for the convent. The hiring of cooks, and the whole government of the kitchen might belong to this officer.

The Infirmarius superintended the infirmary, had the care of the sick monks when carried thither, provided them physic and all necessaries while living, and washed and dressed their bodies for burial when dead. (3)

The four other officers had the care of the church and its service allotted to them. On the sacrist it was incumbent to provide incense, and wax-candles, (4) and the furniture of the high altar, vestments, &c. to super-

rigour of the rule was relaxed: and prelates were empowered to dispense with the eating of flesh. [See Ann. Wig. A. D. 1300. See also an instance of this indulgence granted by a parochial priest of the parish of St. Martin, in this city, in the Appendix, No. XXXV. p. cxxxiii.]

(1) Steven's Mon. Append. p. 131, 132.

(2) Ibid. p. 131.

(3) Tanner's Pref.

(4) The company of wax-chandlers was in a flourishing state during the time of the Romish church; gratitude to saints called frequently for lights. Candlemas wasted its thousands, and those all blessed by the priests, and adjured in solemn terms: "I adjure thee, O waxen creature, that thou repel the devil and his sprights." [Rev. Mr. Brand's edit. of Bourne's Antiquitates Vulgares, p. 222. Pens. Lond. 2 ed. p. 414.]

intend the fabric of the church, and receive oblations and legacies for its repair; to keep the consecrated vessels, administer baptism, and bury the dead. The sacrist was chosen by the bishop, as appears in the prior's registry, *sede vacante*: and to him were committed by the bishop the keys and custody of the cathedral. (1)

Of the Tumbary I can only collect what the name imports, that he had the care of the tombs. Probably, he received and accounted for the offerings made at the sepulchres of St. Oswald and St. Wulstan. (2) The bishop had the right of appointing these two officers, the sacrist and the tumbary.

To the Præcentor, or chanter, belonged the direction of the choral service, the providing of missals and anthem-books, and the repair of the organs: he was also the librarian and registrar of the convent; penned warrants and letters for the chapter; and had custody of their seal, and the oversight of the Scriptorium, which was the room wherein the novices, or younger monks, were employed in copying books. (3) The novices studied in the cloisters, and when properly qualified were sent to the universities.

The salary of this officer prior to the year 1314, was only 40s. per annum. In that year Bishop Maydenstone appropriated the church of Tyberton for the augmentation of his income. (4)

Of the Magister Capellæ I can speak but conjecturally: I suppose he presided over the priests of St. Mary's chapel, as well as over the service of the chapel of the infirmary, to which his lodgings were contiguous.

To these several offices, possessed by the monks, belonged manors and lands, which they could neither alienate or dispose of to their own use (for they were capable of none), but to the benefit of the convent at large. The monks, therefore, who possessed those offices, held the courts of their several lordships, accompanied with a steward, and an esquire of the priory, stiled Armiger, appointed, I think, to defend the unarmed religious. They had horses, and every one a garçon on foot to attend them. Every one of

(1) Abingdon's MS. p. 42.

(2) Dr. Thomas's Account, p. 65. Append. p. 161.

(3) The Scriptorium at Worcester was part of the cloister; the windows of which were glazed, for protecting the desks of the writers from the weather. There is a very fine MS. Bible in folio, written in the cloister of Worcester monastery, now in the library of Benet college, Cambridge; it stands at present at No. 48 in that valuable collection. A note at the beginning of it is published at length in Nasmith's Catalogue, page 31, intimating that the writer lived in the reign of Henry II. his name *Senatus*. The MS. is on vellum, and written with uncommon clearness and beauty of penmanship.

(4) Dr. Thomas, p. 162.

those esquires had his diet, and a robe furred, of six ells of good cloth, the whole value 20s. (1) livery of hay and provender for his horse, and a chamber. In regard whereof he was sworn, if it pleased the prior, to perform his diligent and faithful service in the office of an esquire. Divers had in this priory *largitions*, which I may call *largesses*, and corodies; and of those, some had them in regard of monies given to the monastery, for a provision of maintenance in diet and lodging for themselves, and, if their estate required it, for their servants and horses during life. Those were such as the king, out of his royal prerogative, did sometimes challenge, to give to his followers, without any consideration paid. Sir John Beauchamp of Holt, Knight, had one of them, which he, rising after to great honour and authority, requited with true charity to the religious of this monastery. (2)

THE SANCTUARY.

The church of Worcester was among those that enjoyed the privilege of sanctuary in its fullest plenitude. Its institution is of very ancient origin, and its confirmation, where once permitted, has been uniformly conceded by successive kings, both before and since the Conquest. The refugees were admitted in various manners in different places. They were to confess the crime or cause of their seeking sanctuary; which, with their names, were registered. (3) At Durham the refugee knocked at the door of the Galilee of the cathedral, and was let in even at any hour of the night: the tolling of the Galilee bell announced that some one had taken sanctuary. He was then dressed in a black gown, with the yellow cross of St. Cuthbert on the left shoulder; and being totally disarmed, was lodged within the church. (4)

The ancient grant of sanctuary in the church of Worcester was confirmed by charter, by Henry IV. A. D. 1400, in the second year of his reign; by which it was ordained, that "no bailiffs, serjeants, minister, or other person
" of the city of Worcester, shall hereafter carry or bear any mace or maces,
" but only in the presence of the king or his children, within the church-
" yard, priory, and sanctuary of Worcester, nor intermeddle within the

(1) See the Register of the Priory. (2) Abingdon's MS. p. 44. (3) Stowe's Survey, I. p. 607. Lord Bacon's Hist. Hen. VII. p. 104, as cited by the Rev. Mr. Pegge, in his Hist. of the Asylum, or Sanctuary, in Archæologia, vol. VIII. Art. I. (4) Sanderson's Antiq. of Durham Abbey, p. 43. Stowe, ibidem. Pegge, in Archæologia, vol. VIII.

"aforesaid liberties." This grant was also confirmed by King Henry VI. in the thirty-seventh year of his reign, to John, (Carpenter) Bishop of Worcester, and Thomas, (Musard) Prior, with this farther privilege: "that no sheriff, escheator, coroner, constable, &c. shall arrest any man for any cause whatsoever, (treason against the king's person only excepted) within the churchyard and precincts of the monastery." (1)

The limits of the sanctuary begin from the great door of the north entrance of the cathedral, near to the carnarie, otherwise called the charnel house, by a great stone wall of the palace unto the great gate thereof, and from thence to the house of John Smith, called John Smith's house, dividing the churchyard, or sanctuary, from the king's highway, called the Leech street of the said churchyard of Worcester, and including all the buildings from the great gate aforesaid, even in and unto Smith's house, being itself situate on the King's street; and from the same house to the angle called Stodesmorisknoll, by dividing that street called Sudbury from the sanctuary, and inclosing all the houses near the king's said highway, from the house of the said John Smith, even to the angle aforesaid, excepting three houses in the parish of St. Peter of our city; and from Stodesmorisknoll to the great gate of the priory, dividing the king's highway, called Stodesmorisknoll, from the churchyard, and including all the buildings from the said angle even to the gate of the priory; and from the priory gate by the Ymbrie, otherwise a channel near the walls of the gardens of the prior, unto the great stone wall seated near Severn; and by the said wall, including all buildings, gardens, &c. within the said channel, towards the cathedral church, and extendeth itself by the said stone wall situate on the Severn, unto another stone wall reaching from Severn to the chapel of the charnel house, including it; and from the charnel house to the door of the church, dividing the palace from the churchyard.

Dated at the Bishop of Worcester's house, without the New Temple-bar, London, 20 May, A.D. 1640. (2) In the prelacy of Carpenter.

Sanctuaries and their privileges were suppressed by statute 1 James I. c. 25. sect. 34.

The renouncing of worldly possessions was a first principle in the institute, and a prime engagement in the vow of monks. But when they had

(1) Abingdon's MS. p. 46, 47.
Improvements.

(2) Ibid. p. 46, extracted from the Ledger of Rectories and

thrust themselves into the richest establishments of the secular clergy, they knew how to distinguish between dominion and stewardship, fruition and agency, the possessing of baronies for themselves, and the possessing them for God and the church. This distinction would not always pass upon the world; especially, as they lived too much like barons.

When the pope's supremacy in England was once annulled, Henry VIII. met with little opposition to his grand design of suppressing the monasteries. All the greater ones were wrought upon to make him a voluntary surrender of all their possessions and privileges. The priory of Worcester was dissolved Jan. 18, A. D. 1540, (31 Hen. VIII.) by the surrender of Holbech the prior, and his monks, to whom pensions were allotted for life; but those pensions to be withdrawn whenever they should accept of preferment. The income of this monastery was then valued at £ 1386. 12s. 10 $\frac{3}{4}$ d. per annum; but was reported to be only £ 1290. 10s. 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ d. clear rent: (1) no very profuse provision, even as money then went, for the maintenance of fifty monks and their prior, and the keeping a constant table for strangers. (2) But there were reasons for setting down the valuation of each religious house extremely low. It is certain, that among all the great monasteries there were but fourteen which had a more ample endowment than this of Worcester.

The suppressing of forty of the smaller monasteries in England by Cardinal Wolsey, under the licence of Pope Clement VII. in 1525, intending on their spoils to erect two colleges, one where he was born, in Ipswich, the other where he was bred, in Oxford, was thought ominous with regard to what followed, by their being wholly suppressed by the king. "In a word," says my author, "this dissolution of forty small houses by the cardinal, made all the forest of religious foundations in England to shake, justly fearing the king would finish to fell the oaks, seeing the cardinal began to cut the underwood." (3)

It is allowed that Henry VIII. was friendly to learning: nor was it til

(1) Bishop Tanner.—The temporal and spiritual possessions of the monastery or priory of the cathedral church of Worcester, as returned by the commissioners, amounted to the clear annual sum of £ 1299. 12s. 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ d. [Bacon's Liber Regis, p. 963.]

(2) How very expensive this article of hospitality was, from the continual resort of strangers to Worcester, or passage of travellers through it, may be understood from the complaint of the monastery in the time of King Edward II. [See Dr. Thomas's Account, p. 160.] A clear revenue of £ 1290. at the time of the dissolution, was equivalent to an income of about £ 4500. in the present age.

(3) Fuller's Church Hist. Sect. III. b. vi.

the two succeeding reigns, that the barbarous inroads on the provinces of science and literature were made to any ruinous degree. It was enough for Henry to have rooted up the power the church was ever inclined to exercise, under papal direction, against his regal will : for the notorious frauds committed on the property found in the suppressed monasteries, not only in the embezzlement of the contents of their treasuries, the ornaments of their altars, shrines, &c. (1) but often in their lands and inheritances, which were neither restored to them on their refoundation, nor accounted for to government, fully evinced, that had he formed ideas of merely filling his coffers with their riches, the amount of their aggregate value fell infinitely short of gratifying his avarice, if that were the motive for acting as he did : on the contrary, the deficit excited not the chagrin of disappointment in him, from its being so much below the estimated value of the property. His grand desideratum was achieved : he had laid the hierarchy and its powers at his feet, humbled in its pride, and shorn of the splendour of its beams.

Bale, a notorious and professed reformer, laments the injuries sustained by literature during this violent conflict, and more especially deplores the ruins of the labours of Leland, who by the command of Henry VIII. had bestowed six years research into the libraries of the English monasteries, and collected an immense treasure of national history and antiquities, with an intent to publish it under the royal sanction. (2)

By an order of council, A. D. 1550, the king's library at Westminster was purged of its missals, legends, &c. and the garniture of the books, being either of gold or silver, was taken away. Baliol, Exeter, Queen's, and Lincoln colleges, Oxford, together with the public library, which last had been chiefly formed of the books given to it by Angerville, Bishop of Durham, Cobham, Bishop of Worcester, and Humphry, the good Duke of Gloucester, were all stripped of the labours of the schoolmen, and their books devoted to the flames. This barbarous inquisition upon science and learning was deridingly called by some of the young members of the university, "Scotus's funeral." (3)

The destructive force of this storm of religious reformation did not wholly

(1) For the particulars of those at Worcester, see the Appendix to this Section, No. II. p. ii.

(2) Weever, p. 437. (3) Wood's Hist. et Antiq. Un. Oxon. p. 271, 272. lib. i. Collier's Eccl. Hist. vol. II. p. 307.

subside till the time of Elizabeth, who found it expedient to grant farther powers to the commissioners for their regal visitation, by which images, pictures, crucifixes, and other external appendages of church worship were swept away. It is, however, remarked, that the queen herself could not be persuaded to part with the crucifix and lighted tapers in her own closet. (1)

When the royal fiat had pronounced that the tyranny of pontifical power should cease in England, we trace the operation of that mandate in this church through a regular progression of its effects, to the final closing of that important scene. The consequent removal and destruction of chapels, altars, shrines, tombs, relics, images, crosses, missals, &c. which took place in this cathedral, and in other churches and parts of this city, have in part already been noticed under their respective heads and dates. Bishop Blandford's Manuscript furnishes the following detail in addition, which appears to complete the eventful history of the overthrow of the ancient church discipline on the monkish system at Worcester, carried down to the time of the full adoption of the ritual of the reformed church of England, as by law established.

"In January, A. D. 1539, the monks of this church put on secular habits, and the priory surrendered.

"A. D. 1547. On candlemas day, no candles were hallowed, or borne. On Ash Wednesday no ashes hallowed.

"A. D. 1548. March 25th, being Palm Sunday, no palms hallowed, nor cross borne on Easter eve; no fire hallowed, but the paschal taper, and the font. On Easter day the pix, with the sacrament in it, was taken out of the sepulchre, they singing "Christ is risen," without procession. On Good Friday, no creeping to the cross.

"Also on the 20th October was taken away the cup with the body of X^t from the high altar of St. Mary's church, (*i. e.* the cathedral) and in other churches and chapels.

"A. D. 1549. No sepulchre, or service of sepulchre, on Good Friday. On Easter even no paschal hallowed, nor fire, nor incense, nor font. On the 23d April, this year, was mass, matins, even-song, and all other service

(1) Collier's Eccles. Hist. vol. II. p. 434, 435. Cecil's Memoirs. See also Tanner's Notitia Mon. fol. pref. p. 41. Wharton's Spenser, 8vo. vol. II. p. 247. Gunton's Peterborough, p. 173, in which abbey we are told there were no less than 1700 manuscripts destroyed or dispersed in that ruinous outrage on science.

in English. All books of divine service were brought to the bishop, viz. mass-books, graduals, pies port, and legends, and were burned.

“ A. D. 1551. In all the time of Bishop Hooper were no children confirmed.

“ A. D. 1559. Midsummer service altered.”

At this point the boundary of papal dominion over the church of Worcester appears to have been fixed. It was here all its powers were suspended, and its influence totally overthrown. It was now the hallowed fires of its delusive religion were extinguished, the sweet scented odours of its incense evaporated, and the glories of its splendid altars faded away : it was now that the solemnity of its processions and pageants closed, the voice of its tide and even-songs died away, and all the functions of its vast and ponderous machinery ceasing their movements together, presented to the world an awful example of the mutability of power, in which even that, whose foundation was thought to have been laid on a rock deemed impregnable, and held sacred from the supposed divinity of its origin, disappeared like a vapour from before men's eyes ; and its customs and ceremonies, whose observance was the familiar duty of our forefathers, in the present times become obsolete, a bye-word, and almost wholly unknown among us. (1)

(1) The monastery of Worcester was of the Benedictine order. St. Benet, patriarch of the monks in the west, and founder of this order, was the son of a Roman senator, born at Nursia in the dukedom of Spoleto, in Italy, in the year 480 ; he founded twelve monasteries himself, which were endowed by the benevolences of the Roman nobility ; the chief of these was that of Mont Cassin, where he pulled down an old temple of Apollo, and erected a monastery on its ruins, desiring to establish in the west the same manner of living which St. Basil had begun in the east.* This order is said by many to have been brought into England by St. Augustine, A. D. 596, but others think it was little known before King Edgar's time, when St. Dunstan and St. Oswald (the latter of whom had been a Benedictine monk at Fleury) not only favoured the monks against the secular clergy, but also so much advanced the Benedictines, that William of Malmsbury saith, “ This order took its rise in England from St. Oswald.” Of this order were all our cathedral priories, except Carlisle, and most of the richest abbies in England. The revenues of the Benedictines are said to have been nearly equal to those of all the other religious orders in Britain.†

* Emillianne's Hist. Monast. Orders, ch. 8. p. 67.

† Reyner, vol. I. p. 217.—Tanner's Notitia Monastica.—Batteley's Additions to Somner's Canterbury, p. 133.—Grose in Pref. to his Atiquities, p. 35, 36. An abstract of some of the Benedictine rules, which the founder divided into seventy-three chapters or canons, and which, indeed, were mostly followed by later fraternities, is given in the Appendix, No. XXXV. p. cxxxii, as it will serve to shew in what manner the ancient members, possessors of this church, either were, or ought to have been employed in it.

SECT. V.

OF THE ESTABLISHMENT MADE BY KING HENRY VIII.

HENRY VIII. having driven the monks out of the cathedrals, placed in their stead secular canons ; those whom he thus regulated are called the deans and chapters of the new foundation ; viz. Canterbury, Winchester, Worcester, Ely, Carlisle, Durham, Rochester, Norwich ; and besides these, he erected five cathedrals *de novo*, and endowed them out of the estates of dissolved monasteries ; viz. Chester, Peterborough, Oxford, Gloucester, (1) and Bristol, (2) which he made episcopal sees.

The greatest part of the ancient manors and revenues of the priory of Worcester, were granted again to the church by King Henry VIII. (3) whose foundation charter bears date, Jan. 24, 1541-2, in the 33d year of his reign, for the endowment of a dean, ten prebendaries, ten minor canons,

(1) The charter of erection of the see of Gloucester, which was taken out of that of Worcester, bears date, Sept. 3d, 1541. [See Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. XIV. p. 724.] The charter of its endowment, and the founder's statutes, are given at large in Sir Rob. Atkyns's *Hist. of Gloucestershire*.

(2) In 1542 the king appointed a Bishop of Bristol, part of whose diocese, namely the deanry of Bristol, likewise belonged to the see of Worcester. [Lib. Regis. p. 20.]

(3) The diocese of Worcester at present contains almost the whole of the county, except the following parishes, and eight chapelries, which are in the diocese of Hereford : Abberley, Brockleton, Bayton, Clifton, and Lower Sapy ; Edwin Loch, Eastham, with the two Hanleys, and Orlton, Kyre, Lindridge, with Knighton and Pensax, Mamble, Ribbesford, with Bewdly, Rock, with Hightington, Stanford, Sheldesley, Stocton, Tenbury ; these are in the deanry of Burford, and archdeaconry of Salop. The diocese of Worcester also contains about a third part of Warwickshire, the parishes of Brome and Clent in Staffordshire, and Halesowen in Shropshire. It is divided into nine deanries, in which are contained 116 rectories, besides St. Nicholas in Droitwich, now united with St. Andrew's ; 79 vicarages, 26 curacies ; and 41 chapels, viz.

In the deanry of	Rectories.	Vicarages.	Curacies.	Chapels.
Worcester	25	8	2	6
Pershore	25	12	7	10
Kidderminster	10	8	3	2
Witton, or Wich	10	6	0	5
Powick	9	6	4	6
Evesham	1	5	7	0
Blockley	4	1	0	0
Kington	18	17	0	6
Warwick	15	16	3	6*

* See Dr. Nash, in *Introd.* vol. I. p. xxxiii.

ten lay clerks, ten choristers, two schoolmasters, forty king's scholars, and some inferior attendants or servants of the church. (1)

To the dean was allotted nearly the whole of the prior's house ; to the first prebendary, the sacrist's, which was on the north side of the church. (2) To the second prebendary was allotted the tumbary's house ; to the third, the sub-prior's ; to the fourth, the hospitaller's ; to the fifth, the infirmarian's ; to the sixth, the pittancer's, and part of the cellarer's ; to the seventh, the kitcheners ; to the eighth and ninth, the house of magister capellæ, and the site of the infirmary and its chapel ; to the tenth, the almoner's, and a part of the prior's house, on the site of which Dr. Byrch, about fifty years since, erected a new one, which is considered the best of the prebendal residences.

The members of this church at present are, the Bishop, Dean, Archdeacon ; ten major canons or prebendaries, of whom three are annually elected to the offices of sub-dean, receiver, and treasurer ; eight minor canons, originally ten, in the number of which are the chanter, and sacrist, a head schoolmaster, and under schoolmaster ; two of the minor canonries, and likewise the offices of diaconus and sub-diaconus, or epistler and gospeller, have long been suppressed ; one organist ; eight lay clerks, or singing men ; ten choristers, who are usually scholars on the royal foundation ; forty king's scholars, ten of whom are nominated to the school by the dean, and three by each prebendary ; two virgers (formerly four) ; two sub-sacrists, or sextons ; two butlers ; one caterer, or manciple ; one cook ; two porters ; ten beadsmen, or eleemosynarii, *i. e.* almsmen. (3) The Bishop of Worcester is, by the founder's statutes, visitor of this collegiate body.

When the constitution of this conventual church was thus changed, and a dean and prebendaries placed in it, a body of statutes was drawn up for its government, the substance of which, *mutatis mutandis*, may be found at full in the Antiquities of the Cathedral of Rochester, octavo, 1717 : that the

(1) Bacon's Liber Regis. p. 962, 963.

(2) That house was taken down in the present century ; the site of it is now inclosed within the wall on the north side of the cathedral, between the ends of the two cross iles, and a garden is formed upon it. The first prebendal house is to the east of the college green, where the organist's house formerly stood, and was erected about the year 1713.

(3) Almsmen, in the great monasteries, were such paupers as were ordered to attend daily at the gate, to receive the charity loaves, and the offals of the refectory. Beode, in the Saxon, signified table ; from which their name of beadsmen seems to be derived (implying, men that were fed from the table) ; or, as others suppose, from the string of beads they usually bore in their hands, at the door of the choir, during divine service. The beadsmen of the present establishment, instead of alms, have a settled pension.

statutes for this church were not so attentively revised and corrected as was requisite, and that they stood in need of being rendered, in some instances, more decided, and in others less ambiguous, will be gathered from the measures subsequently taken to render them practically useful to the new establishment. On these accounts it will be sufficient to the present purpose simply to give the *proœmium statutorum*, with the heads of the chapters, which are as follow, viz. (1)

(1) Statuta ecclesiæ cathedralis Wigorniensis edita per serenissimum ac potentissimum Princip. Henricum Octavum, Angliæ, Franciæ, et Hiberniæ Regem, fidei defensor, et in terra Anglicanæ et Hiberniæ ecclesiæ supremum caput; ejusdem ecclesiæ Wigorniensis fundatorem.*

Henricus Octavus, Dei gratiâ Angliæ, Franciæ, et Hiberniæ Rex, fidei defensor, ac in terra ecclesiæ Anglicanæ et Hiberniæ supremum caput, universis sanctæ matris ecclesiæ filijs, ad quorum notitiam præsens scriptum pervenerit, salutem.

Cum nobis, et regni proceribus nostri universoque; senatui (quem parliamentum vocamus) visum sit (Deo ut confidimus nos huc movente) monasteria quæ passim in regno nostro extabant, tum propter graves ac multiplices illorum enormitates, tum ob alias justas rationabilesque causas suppressere, abolere, et in meliores usus convertere—nos, et divinæ voluntati conformius, et maxime in rem Christianum esse ducentes, ut ubi ignorantia et superstitio regnabant, ibi sincerus Dei cultus vigeat, et sanctum Christi Evangelium assidue et pure annuncietur; et præterea ut ad Christianæ fidei et pietatis incrementum, juvenus regni nostri in bonis literis instituatur et pauperes perpetuo sustententur, in ipsorum monasteriorum loco ecclesias ereximus et constituimus, quarum alias cathedrales, alias collegiatas, vocari volumus; pro quarum ecclesiarum gubernatione et regimine leges et statuta quæ sequuntur præscribenda curavimus; quibus tam decani, et utriusque ordinis canonici, quam cæteri omnes ministri, pueri et pauperes qui in ipsis ecclesiis commoraturi sunt, pareant et obsequantur; ijsque ut a nobis conditis et perfectis, regantur et gubernentur; id quod si fecerint, ingens sane pietatis incrementum in hoc regno nostro proventurum esse confidimus; et nos expectatione, ac voto nostro, qui ad Dei optimi maximi gloriam, ac fidei Christianæ augmentum eas ecclesias ereximus, varijs ministrorum ordinibus exornavimus, haud quaquam fraudabimur.

Tabula Capitum.

Cap.

1. De numero integro eorum qui in ecclesia cathedrali Wigorniensi sustentantur.
2. De qualitatibus, electione, et admissione decani.
3. De juramento decani.
4. De officio decani.

Cap.

5. De visitatione terrarum.
6. Dimissio terrarum et tenementorum ad firmam.
7. De traditione bonorum decano.
8. De residentiâ decani.
9. De obedientiâ decano præstanda.

* In Misc. XX. 401, 409, Benet college library, Cambridge, the title of the Worcester statutes, is "Statuta ecclesiæ cathedralis Wigorniæ, facta 36 anno regni sereniss. R. Henrici 8, et tradita per N. Wigorn, Georgium Cicestrensis, et Ricardum Cox, Archid. Eliensem." The following note is subjoined.—"Manus M^{ri}. Pedder, Decani.—Architypus horum statutorum ut fertur Cardinali Pole tradebatur, per Seth Holland decanum, tempore R. Mariæ, nec postea restitutus."

The "Proœmium Statutorum" at page 409, runs thus:—"Henricus Octavus, Dei grã Ang. Fran. et Hibern. Rex, fidei defensor, ac in terra supremum ecclesiæ Anglican. et Hibern. caput, universis sanctæ matris eccles. filiis, &c."

SECT. VI.

A SURVEY OF THE CATHEDRAL SUBSEQUENT TO THE REFORMATION.

IT is unnecessary here to retrace the accounts of the particular portions and offices of this cathedral, as they were anciently arranged, they having already been fully stated and described in the fourth Section, and regularly

Cap.

10. De qualitatibus, electione et admissione canonicorum.
11. De juramento canonicorum.
12. De residentia canonicorum.
13. De concionibus in ecclesiâ nostrâ habendis.
14. De mensa canonicorum.*
15. De stipendio decani, et canonicorum.
16. De electione officiariorum, et electionis tempore.
17. De officio vice-decani.
18. De officio receptoris.
19. De officio Thesaurarij.
20. De qualitate, electione, et admissione minorum canonicorum et clericorum.
21. De juramento ministrorum.
22. De residentiâ ministrorum.
23. De præcentore, et ejus officio.
24. De sacristâ, et subsacristis, et virgiferis.
25. De choristis et ipsorum numero et magistro.

Cap.

26. De pueris grammaticis et eorum informato-ribus.
27. De pauperibus et eorum officio.
28. De inferioribus ecclesiæ ministris.
29. De communi mensâ omnium ministrorum.*
30. De vestibis ministrorum quæ liberaturas vocant.
31. De stipendiis ministrorum in ecclesiâ nostrâ.†
32. De celebratione divinorum.
33. De communi ærario, de custodiâ sigilli et munimentorum.
34. De ratione seu computo quotannis reddendo.
35. De corrigendis excessibus.
36. De eleemosynis et studentibus in academijis.
37. De capitulis celebrandis.†
38. De visitatione ecclesiæ.
39. De precibus in ecclesiâ dicendis.
40. De scholâ et classibus ac ordine in ea observandi.

* The commons table of this church was dissolved by petition of those who partook of it, about the year 1560, or 1561; see a MS. in answer to certain articles exhibited by the queen's high commissioners for causes ecclesiastical; in which Roger Folyott, chapter-clerk in 1587, on behalf of the prebendaries of the church of Worcester, against whom charges were exhibited, declares that the crosses, chalices, censers, candlesticks, paxes, and other ornaments of the church, all of silver and gilt; also copes, vestments, hangings and curtains for altars of divers sorts; of which plate, part thereof made a silver pot and cups for the communion table, and other plate, as salts, and cups of silver and gilt for Mr. Dean, and common hospitality; and the copes and vestments, and other ornaments of the church, some made coverings for the communion table, some cushions for the choir and church. [Return of the Report of the commissioners, from a MS. in the evidence room, Worcester Cath.]

† This chapter, as matter of some curiosity, is given at large. † The chapters or statutes in the MS. at Benet college, are regularly numbered to the 37th, which, with four others not numbered, are entitled—“De capitulis celebrandis.—De visitatione ecclesiæ.—Preces in scholâ mane dicendæ.—Preces in scholâ vespere dicendæ.—Preces pauperum.” Then follows the—“Confirmatio statutorum.” [For the endowment of the church of Worcester, see Appendix to this section, No VII. p. xvi, and the alienations of lands from the chapter, p. xxii.]

classed under the respective epochas of their construction. What, therefore, yet remains to be noticed under this head, is the principal alterations and improvements that have taken place subsequent to the grand Reform, and which will necessarily comprize the history of this church under the Protestant establishment, from that period down to the present time.

De Stipendiis Ministrorum in Ecclesiâ nostra.—Cap. 31.

Statuimus et volumus ut ex bonis communibus nostræ ecclesiæ, præter communias, et liberatus superius assignatas solvantur stipendia omnibus ministris ecclesiæ nostræ per manus Thesaurarii singulis anni terminis per æquales portiones ad hunc qui sequitur modum, videlicet.

	£.	s.	d.		£.	s.	d.
Singulis minoribus canonicis pro por- tione suâ - - -	5	2	0	Obsonatori - - -	1	18	0
Superiori informatori grammaticæ -	15	2	0	Coquo - - -	1	18	0
Magistro choristarum -	11	13	0	Cuilibet ex choristis - -	0	15	0
Inferiori informatori grammaticæ -	6	5	10	Singulis pueris grammaticis -	0	1	8
Diacono - - -	4	5	10	Singulis decem pauperum -	4	10	0
Subdiacono - - -	4	5	10	Sub-coquo - - -	1	10	0
Singulis clericis - -	2	19	2	Vice-decano - - -	2	13	4
Cuilibet ex virgiferis - -	3	0	0	Preceptori - - -	5	0	0
Cuilibet ex subsacristis - -	2	18	0	Thesaurario - - -	2	14	4
Cuilibet ex pincernis - -	1	18	0	Præcentori - - -	2	0	0
Uni janitorum qui et barbæ tonsor erit	2	18	0	Sacristæ - - -	2	0	0
Alteri ex janitoribus - -	1	18	0	Senescallo, seu clerico terrarum -	3	6	8
				Auditori* - - -	4	0	0

De borum Statutorum firmitate et robore.

Volumus et per præsentis concedimus Decano et Capitulo dictæ ecclesiæ cathedralis Christi, et beatæ Mariæ Virginis Wigorniensis, et successoribus suis quod decanus ecclesiæ cathedralis illius pro tempore existens, omnes et singulos ejusdem ecclesiæ cathedralis inferiores officarios et ministros et alias præ-

* In the British museum, vol. 856, MS. "Letters and Warrants of King Charles the Second." Art. 112, is the following letter:

"To the Deane of Worcester, about the Vicars choral.

"Trusty and well beloved, wee greete you well. Our princely care that moved us to make provision for vicars rural, carrieth us on alsoe to advance piety by providing for vicars chorall, that dayly attend God's service in cathedralls. Now that these having decent mainteynance may bee both obliged to singular exemplary regularity of conversac'on, and incouraged constantly and reverendly to praise Almighty God for his goodnesse to all, especially for o^r mirackalous restauration, and to pray for the p'sperity of o^r p'son, governm^t, and kingdoms; it is o^r will and pleasure, that you increase the sallary of every quier man to £ 16. or £ 20. per annum, by improveing for theire use the rents or Warton, Thornton, or any other rectyries or lands you shall thinke meete. And by p'sueing that worthy p'sident begun by the now Lord Arch Bishop of Canterbury,† and continued by Dr. Potter, yo^r former deanes, viz. to improve one bushell of wheate, and two of barley upon every copy hould estate where the old rent is tenn shillings per annum, and so p'porsonabley, bee the rent more or lesse, except copy houlds of inheritance, and in markett townes which have noe land annexed; and out of this improvem^t farther

† Dr. William Juxon: he succeeded to this deanry 1627, and died Archbishop of Canterbury, 1663.

The cathedral makes a most venerable appearance ; and though raised to what it is by architects in different ages, has yet sufficient uniformity to please the less searching eye. Its general plan is that of the double cross, the most eminent of the architectural distinctions in the construction of our ancient cathedrals ; an advantage which the discernment of Bishop Blois judiciously secured to this church when he added the present nave to the original structure, as built by St. Wulstan. Both the delicacy and magnificence of which the Gothic stile of building is susceptible, are here united : The whole from east to west is divided into three iles by two rows of well proportioned columns, sustaining on each side a series of eighteen grand and capacious arches, viz. three in the Lady's chapel, five in the choir,

dictæ ecclesiæ cathedralis Christi et beatæ Mariæ Virginis Wigorniensis quasquuncq; personas prout casus seu causa exiget, faciet, constituet, admittet, et acceptabit de tempore in tempus in perpetuum ; ac omnes et eorum quemlibet sic admissos, vel admissum, ob causam legitimam non solum corrigere, sed etiam deponere, et ab eadem ecclesiâ cathedrali amovere, et expellere possit, et valeat.

Nos Nicholaus Wigorniensis, Georgius Cicestrensis, et Ricardus Cox, archidiaconus Eliensis, metuentissimi Domini nostri Regis Henrici Octavi, Dei gratiâ Angliæ, Franciæ, et Hiberniæ Regis, fidei defensoris, et in terra ecclesiæ Anglicanæ et Hiberniæ supremi capitis, mandato et nomine vobis decano, canonicis cæterisq; ministris omnibus dictæ ecclesiæ Wigorniensis statuta hæc diligenter, et bonâ fidē observanda tradimus, anno ejusdem domini nostri regis tricesimo sexto, et mensis Julii die ultimo.

Ubi autoritas statutorum autoritate invictissimi principis piæ memoriæ Henrici Octavi editorum in quæstionem venit, nos Ricardus Morison, Ricardus Tracie, Armigeri, Henricus Siddall, et Robertus Ferrar, sacre theologiæ et legum respective baccalaurei, illustrissimi in Christo principis et domini nostri Domini Edvardi Sexti, Dei gratiâ Angliæ, Franciæ, et Hiberniæ Regis, fidei defensoris, ac in terris ecclesiæ Anglicanæ et Hiberniæ supremi capitis, commissarii generales ad visitationem suam regiam per dioces. Wigorniensem exercendam, pro robore, et valore eorundum pronuntiamus et decernimus, eademq; statuta ab omnibus et singulis istius cathedralis ecclesiæ minis̃ inviolabiliter̃ observari subpænis in eisdem contentis ; permittimus tamen decano, et cuivis alii canonico privilegia, commoditates et emolumenta quæcunq; sufficienti autoritate regiâ illis, aut illorum cuilibet prius concessa.

Concordat cum Decreto. CONSTANTINE, Register.

to augm^t the quier men's p^vision according to the division by these former deanes assigned, and for the good of succession wee further requier you strictly to keepe yo^rselves to the litterall observance of such statutes made by o^r royall predecessors as enioyne you to demise leases for the just terme of 21 yeares only, in number and not in value ; and that noe copypy hould estate be filled with more than two lives in one copypy of reversion ; and for the good repaire and maintainance of the fabric of o^r cathedrall church, wee order that you imploy the benefitt of all dona^cions meant for that end only for that use continually, and alsoe that you keepe up the impropriac^ons demised by the late comitties at the improved rents, and imploy them upon repaire of the cathedrall onely, unlesse you can make it appeare that the p^sent exigent of the church will bee better satisfied by taking fines of some of them : that lastly itt is o^r pleasure that these o^r injunctions be registered in the Statute Booke, and observed as statutes. And soe wee bid you farewell.

Given, &c.

“ To o^r trusty and well beloved the Deane and Chapter of Worcester.”



INTERNAL VIEW of
To S^t Andrew S^t John Esq. L.L.D.
is most respectfully dedicated by his most

London, Published by



WORCESTER CATHEDRAL.

This Plate (presented by him to this Work)
devoted and obliged humble Servant

Valentine Green

V. Green Nov. 1st 1794.

Drawn & Engraved by James Rolt, Worcester

and ten in the great cross ile and nave. The middle ile, to a spectator that advances from its west end, exhibits a grand perspective ; (1) which must have been more striking before the view of the choir was cut off by the organ at the entrance of it. The vaulted roof of this ile has a light and sprightly appearance, to which perhaps its loftiness contributes, as well as the elegance of the smaller arcades which surmount the greater arches on each side. The curious eye is gratified by the justness and symmetry of the work in this ancient pile ; whilst a most pleasing sense of awe is impressed on the minds of more cursory beholders (2)

The ancient stalls in the choir were made in 1397 ; these remained till 1551, when, with all the choir and the bishop's seat, they were taken down. Five years afterwards, viz. in 1556, the choir was removed from the clock-house, to which it had been transferred, the present stalls were set up in the order in which they stand at this time, a goodly loft to read the gospel, and the whole order of the choir restored : at the same time the upper part of it, from the end of the stalls to the foot of the altar, was inclosed with stone, grated with iron, and two doors on each side. (3) The stalls extend from beneath the rood loft, where the organ is now placed, to the second pillar on each side of the choir. Those on the south side are terminated by the bishop's throne, and on the north side by the archdeacon's stall. They are in number fifty-two, being twenty-six on each side ; of which the bishop's throne takes up two, and on the opposite side the archdeacon has two ; which, before the see of Gloucester was taken out of this, were occupied jointly by the Archdeacon of Worcester, and the Archdeacon of Gloucester.

The bishop's throne is a plain, respectable, and characteristic object. On its top is the type of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, the mitre on a cushion ; below which are the emblems of peace, denoted by the olive branch. The whole, with the stalls, are made of fine Irish oak, with an abundance of carvings interspersed about the seats, pillars, and cornices. On the north side, and on the cornice of the last stall, in a shield, are displayed armorially the five wounds of Christ ; the same device is cut in stone in Bishop Alcock's chapel in Ely cathedral. In the next stall are the arms of the see of Worcester ; corresponding with these on the south side, on another shield,

(1) See the annexed plate.
p. cxxxv.

(2) For the measures of the cathedral, see Appendix, No. XXXVI.

(3) Bishop Blandford's MS.

is represented a cross, on each arm of which is hung a scourge ; this, with the foregoing device, are emblematical of the sufferings and crucifixion of Christ. Over the next stall is a coat of arms, probably those of Philip Hawford, at that time dean of Worcester. Above the stalls are two spacious galleries on each side, furnished with seats for ladies. Adjoining to the archdeacon's stall, on the north side, are the seats of the civil magistrates of the city, who on particular occasions use this church. This part of our ancient cathedrals was called the Greece, or *gradus chori*, *i. e.* the part next beyond the stalls towards the altar, in the centre of which the tomb of King John is placed. (1)

The pulpit, which was originally set up near the west end of the nave, against the second pillar from the window on its north side, was removed from thence at the time the reforms were made in this church by Dean Martin and his

(1) Will of Henry VI. Acct. of King's coll. chap. Cambridge, p. 7. In the notice already taken of the ancient sculptures in the Lady's chapel (sect. IV. p. 41) the principle and the motives on which those heterogeneous representations were introduced there, have been briefly questioned.

The investigation of these matters naturally leads us to inquire into the no less singular, though much more modern, decorations of the seats and stalls of our choirs, about many of which an abundance of carvings of a variety of subjects is found.

The seats of the stalls of Henry the Seventh's chapel, Westminster, abound with a great variety of carvings of many subjects, the authorities for which are unknown, and represented for purposes as little to be understood. When those stalls were set up, the monkish system was in the zenith of its glory ; why is it then that some of those subjects are representations of the excesses and lascivious manners of that order of the religious, and so placed as to become the objects of the derision and contempt of a congregation assembled for so opposite a purpose to that of laughing at their spiritual instructors ? But it would be in vain to follow this vulgar, coarse, and indecent train of satire to any other purpose than, after a fruitless search for motives which could eligibly have authorized their introduction into so many of our ancient churches, and about the same period too, to conclude with Dr. Stukeley, as far as these examples have gone, and in charity to the conservators of the religion of the times, that most of the subjects are only the licentious inventions of the workmen.

It would require more than the erudition of Reeks, who produced that ingenious illustration of the hieroglyphics in the interior of the quadrangle of the cloister of Magdalen college, Oxford, in his "*Oedipus Magdalenensis*," or that of the late Dr. King in his Essay on Allegory, as applied to the fine arts, to connect and form a system that could possibly serve any useful or valuable purpose, in the places in which we find them ; and to adduce even the true reason for such an eccentric feature in our churches, might perhaps prove of little moment to their concerns ; but in tracing its course through the progress of the arts, it is found that those subjects are the works of Florentine artists, at the head of whom was Torrigiano, the scholar of Michael Angelo, whom Benvenuto Cellini has celebrated for his savage exploit of breaking the nose of his master by a blow which he gave him ; an exploit of which he boasted, that although he had not killed (which he intended), he had set his mark upon the first artist in the world. To

successor Dr. Waugh, and fixed to the third pillar from the altar, on the north side of the choir. It is of an octagon figure, most elegantly carved in the Gothic mode. In the front pannels are the four evangelic hieroglyphics; beneath which, on the dies of the base, are the quarters of the imperial arms of England, with the coat of the see of Worcester. These appropriate decorations illustrate the purposes of the structure in the most comprehensive manner; the old and the new law are exemplified and combined to indicate the system of the Christian religion; the imperial insignia denote the source of the temporal government of the church, and the whole referring to the divine power for guidance and protection, is beautifully indicated by the eye of Providence placed over the series of emblems in each compartment. The new Jerusalem, as described in the Revelations, and represented on the plane of the inside of the pulpit, may be considered as the climax of the whole composition, in as much as it is the object to which all our views should be directed.

The top is a well designed canopy, the festooned drapery of which, with its embroidery, is formed and suspended at the several angles by a hand emerging from beneath, and is surmounted by a folding riband running round it. The ascent to the pulpit is by a flight of stone steps arising from the north ile, the supports of which are enriched with sculptured embellishments corresponding with its other ornamented parts; the whole of this very elegant structure is executed in stone, and forms the most chaste example of that species of church furniture any where to be found.

The altar screen is an object no otherwise noticeable as a part of the garniture of the cathedral than that, like others hastily set up to cover the outrage committed on the ancient altar, and to be as much dissimilar to them, or

this Torrigiano (who fled hither to avoid punishment for the outrage) and his followers it appears that we owe those marks of irreverent impertinences that still disfigure some of the otherwise most venerable churches in the kingdom. Henry the Seventh's chapel at Westminster, and St. George's chapel at Windsor, are, in that line of embellishment, the work of his prolific genius. Partial reform has, indeed, in a late instance or two, begun to correct the atrocities of this evil; not with the violence of a destroyer, nor the rage of fanaticism, but with a moderation and temper, aided by judicious discrimination, from which the inoffensive has nothing to dread, and the guilty alone receives the stroke of distributive justice.

It is a satisfaction to find, upon a close examination of the carvings in the choir of this cathedral, that if some of the subjects are not altogether strictly applicable to their situations, they are none of them offensive or disgusting, many of them are instructive, others entertaining, and mostly very curious. *

* See Appendix, No. XXXVIII. p. cxxxvii, cxxxviii.

to any other part of the church, as possible, as well in form as in use, it stands distinct in its appearance from every thing that surrounds it, a Greek among Goths. But that appearance will no longer be considered as singular, since we have seen from what cause it has arisen, and that every other of our ancient churches is marked by the same defect. The screen is formed of plain oak, divided into large pannels by a series of Corinthian pilasters. (1)

The seats between the east end of the stalls and the altar appear to have been placed there so early as 1623, as may be gathered from a chamber order of the city, dated Nov. 14th, 21 James I. when "It was agreed that every one of the company of xxiiij^{tie}, and every one of the xlviii^{tie}, shall pay unto the chamberlaines that were for the last yeare for and towards making of the newe seats in the cathedrall church, the sum of v^s a peece, and that Mr. Townclarke shall likewise pay the sum of v^s, and which was paid accordingly." (2)

In the time of Dean Talbot the iron gates at the west end of the choir beneath the organ loft were put up; his arms, as Bishop of Oxford and Dean of Worcester are painted on their outside, and the date 1701 is inscribed on their inside.

The electioneering dispute between Sir John Pakington and Bishop Lloyd and his son, in 1702, produced in its consequences much benefit to the fabric of the cathedral. Before that period it had been much neglected, and fallen to decay in many of its parts; and the ravages of the grand rebellion were still reproachfully visible about it; but those storms which had shaken the ecclesiastical foundations of the whole kingdom to the centre, and threatened a general dissolution of the hierarchy, left in its ministers little inclination to care for the structures of their churches, when their revenues were wrested from their hands, and individual ruin was looking them in the face. The funds of this church having been, in consequence of those disastrous and unsettled times, so much deranged, and the fabric itself having

(1) The altar of this cathedral had stood wholly unadorned and plain till 1792, when the late honourable and reverend the Dean St. Andrew St. John, and the reverend the Chapter of Worcester did the author the honour to accept a copy of "the Descent from the Cross," of the dimensions of nine feet high, by seven feet wide, painted by Mr. Thomas Phillips. The original picture, one of the sublimest productions of the pencil, painted by Sir Peter Paul Rubens, formed an altar-piece in the cathedral at Antwerp, but has lately been carried to Paris: in its removal it is said to have been much damaged.

(2) See Chamber Orders from 1602 to 1650.

sustained more than a common share of this brutal violence, it may well be imagined it stood much in need of reparation. It is of little moment in this place to be assured whether the motive that suggested the necessity of its repair originated in the pique the baronet might have had against the bishop and the chapter, or from a real regard to the safety and preservation of the structure ; or lastly, whether it arose from a resolution of the chapter itself to effect it : this general derangement was represented to government, and its repair was soon afterwards entered upon. Substantial repair was what was now necessary ; and this appears to have included the providing the stonework that fills the space between the two pillars at the north side of the altar, over the tomb of Bishop Bullingham ; the inclosing of the Bishop's and Dean's chapels, with the modern arches above the latter, for the better security of the superstructure of that part of the church ; the taking down the sacrist's lodgings, near the west end of the north ile of the choir, and closing the Saxon arch before which Bishop Hough's monument now stands : to these may also be added the paving of the choir, the glazing of many of the windows, the white-washing the greater part of the church, and the erecting of the first prebendal house, at the east end of the college green.

Under this date also, I conjecture, we may place the raising of that handsome set of spires so ornamental to the external appearance of the cathedral, and which distinguishes it from every other in Europe : these arise in series, two from the angles of the middle ile at the east end, and four from those at the west end, denoting the extremities of the principal and collateral iles ; and two at each angle of the north and south ends of the two transverse or cross iles. These spires are of a subordinate but well adjusted proportion of altitude to the tower, and of a uniform dimension of height and diameter respecting each other, excepting those at the extreme angles of the west end, which are not so high, having a relative proportion to the elevation of the side iles of the nave, to which they are attached. In support of the opinion that these spires were raised at this time, it is observable that in the print of the cathedral as given in the *Monasticon*, and in another or two which I have seen, anterior to the present century, the angles of those parts now occupied by them were terminated by short pinnacles rising on the parapet of the church. The expenditure upon these operations, which were begun in 1712, and were three years in completing, amounted to upwards of £ 7000.

The most considerable reform and repair this church has received since that time was commenced about the year 1748, and completed in 1756: in the course of that period the north end of the great cross ile of the nave was rebuilt, with its window and spires, (1) by the ingenious Mr. Wilkinson, who had just then raised that beautiful ornament to the city, and monument of his own abilities, the spire of St. Andrew's church. The stone pulpit was removed from the nave and placed in the choir, which, with its side iles, was then newly paved. The present floor of the choir has been laid over the old one, which lies about eight inches beneath: it is a party-coloured pavement, blue and white. In the floors of the side iles, gravestones, that had been removed from the nave and the great cross ile, have been laid by their walls. (2)

The steps ascending to these iles, and to the choir at the west end from the great cross ile, and those leading from their east end into the Lady's chapel, together with the iron gates that inclose them, were formed and set up at the same time; also the passage round the west end of the cathedral, leading on the left into the cloisters, and on the right into what is called the Dark alley, in a direction towards the Water-gate, was laid open, by which improvement the indecent annoyance of passengers conveying every kind of burthen through the principal north entrance, across the nave of the cathedral to the cloisters, even during the time of divine service, was properly and effectually removed, and a ready communication with the residences south of the church was provided, to the great convenience and accommodation of the inhabitants. (3)

The old floor of the great cross ile, and of the nave and its side iles, were taken up, together with all the sepulchral stones, and several monuments and tombs, and in its stead was laid the present white stone floor, which has rendered that part of the church eminently beautiful; and since which time no graves are suffered to be made in it. (4)

The consistory court formerly occupying the west end of the south ile of

(1) See Appendix to Sect. VII. No. VIII. p. xxii.
VIII. p. xxvi, xxvii, in Appendix.

(2) See a further account of them, No. VIII. p. xxvi, xxvii, in Appendix.
(3) In 1751, June 21st, a fire broke out in one of the rooms near the vestry, called Oliver Cromwell's Chambers, which burnt part of two large beams, and melted a great quantity of lead; but by timely assistance it was put out before it had reached the library, which is contiguous to that part of the building. [See Worcester Journal, No. 2188.]

(4) For an account of the gravestones, monuments, and tombs taken away and displaced on occasion of this reform, see Appendix, No. VIII. p. xxxi—xxxiii.

the nave was removed, and their sittings are now held in the east end of the same ile in the Lady's chapel.

There was anciently in the churchyard, a lofty stone cross. At this place the sermons were wont to be delivered in the open air. On the south side of it, near the church walls, there were seats for the accommodation of the principal citizens. On its demolition in the civil wars, it was, with the sacrist's lodgings, converted into the first prebendal house. After which the place for sermons was within doors, at the bottom of the cathedral, and was continued there till the new floor of the nave was laid. A stone bench, set under the great west window, and covered with fine blue arras cloth, was appropriated to the chief citizens. The bishop's chair was placed under the second lowermost pillar on the south side ; the pulpit stood beneath the opposite corresponding pillar. Near the bishop's chair were the seats of the dean and prebendaries, on a stone bench, covered also with blue arras cloth; on which was wrought a design of Robert Alchurch, sub-prior of, and a considerable benefactor to, this church. Near these, under the third arch on the south side, was an organ, long since removed from the church.

The font was erected soon after this time, in the centre of Jesus' chapel, which had been newly laid open to the nave. Its form is that of a term, elevated on a double plinth, making an ascent to it of two steps. Its situation is nearly parallel with the ancient baptistry. The whole is of marble, and from its elegant simplicity, is very ornamental to the station in which it is placed. (1)

The cloisters received an entire new series of window frames of stone about 1762 ; the old ones, which were ruined in the civil wars, had formerly been enriched with arms and inscriptions painted on their glass, of which some notice has already been taken. No glazing has hitherto been put up in the new window frames.

The whole of these very essential and evident improvements were effected during the decanal administrations of Dr. Edmund Martin, and his successor, Dr. John Waugh.

To the care and attention of the succeeding deans this church owes much of its present truly respectable and venerable appearance, in having restored those of its spires that had formerly been damaged, and partly broken down.

(1) The time of the first use of this font appears, by the register of the cathedral, to have been " July 12th, 1770."

The library has been completely fitted up, and the whole of its contents classed and arranged in the most perfect order, to every article of which a copious index or catalogue refers. The magnificent windows at the east and west ends of the cathedral have been rebuilt, with the spire of its south-west end ; and the entire roof the church east of the tower has been newly covered. Internally the Lady's chapel has been prepared to receive hereafter a reform in its flooring similar to that in the nave ; an improvement much wished, and probably meant to have been a part of those completed by Dean Waugh. The Bishop's chapel has also been laid open, and its orderly appearance greatly restored. Little indeed is now wanting in this part of the cathedral to make the sober grandeur and magnificence of the whole edifice uniform and complete ; in the contemplation of which the eye of the spectator will encounter nothing of irreverent negligence to offend his feelings, or disturb the reflections that must naturally result from the impressive, solemn, and awful scene that surrounds him : where

“ The high embowed roof

“ With antique pillars massy proof ;” (1)

“ Where through the long drawn ile and fretted vault,

“ The pealing anthem swells the note of praise.” (2)

The east window has a few panes of painted glass introduced in it, on which some of the churches of the city are represented. The arms of the see are also a part of its decorations ; but the blemish in its blazoning stands in need of a reform. In the upper space of the new west window, the arms of the bishopric are also placed, and properly displayed ; underneath is a preparation for the reception of another coat, which might well be supplied with the arms of the deanry. In the points of the two principal divisions of the window, shields are prepared for other armorial decorations. Beneath the great transom on each side of the centre of the lower division, the arms of England are set up ; there are also parts of other coats collected from other windows of the church introduced, but so disposed, that it cannot be ascertained to whom they belonged. (3)

At some future period these windows may probably receive embellishments from art more decidedly appropriate to their stations, and to the his-

(1) Milton, *Il Penseroso*. (2) Gray's *Elegy*. (3) These windows were built by Mr. Thomas Johnson, architect of this city. See their elevations, with those of the ancient windows, in the Plan of the Cathedral, referred to by the letters *i*, *k*, *l*, *m*.

tory of the church, than those they at present possess. The spur of the occasion of its erection did not allow the time necessary to the arrangement of a plan of decoration suggested for the west window, the design of which was to commemorate the honour the church received by the presence of their Majesties at the triennial meeting of the three choirs of Worcester, Hereford, and Gloucester, for the relief of the widows and orphans of the clergy of those dioceses, held at Worcester in 1788, on which occasion the royal visitors were seated in a magnificent gallery erected immediately under that window.

PRECINCTS OF THE CATHEDRAL.

The cathedral and its precincts make no part of the city, though contiguous to it. Exemption from the least interposition of the civil powers was what all the great monasteries sooner or later obtained ; but this of Worcester had a long struggle with the hereditary sheriffs of the county, before its absolute immunity from their officers could be established. The Reformation has introduced great changes ; it has abolished the right of sanctuary in cathedrals ; subsequent laws have weakened the barrier between royal and ecclesiastical jurisdiction ; the precincts of the church are now part of the outer county, but still remain independent of the city, or county interior, being a separate district, under the jurisdiction of the dean and chapter. The limit of these precincts, beginning at the Severn, is bounded on the south by a wall, extending from thence between the castle and the deanry ; a line from that wall, including part of the eminence or ridge leading from the Castle hill to the end of Frog-lane, reaches Edgar's-tower-gate ; from thence to the Knowle's-end, including all the houses on the north side of Edgar-street, on the Sanctuary side, it passes through part of a house, excluding its fore-front, with those of two other houses belonging to the city, being there divided by stones called Monke stones, of a blue colour, and from thence along Sidbury to its upper end, it enters the Leech-street, including all the houses on its south side, to the gate of the bishop's palace ; along which line every house on the Sanctuary side have free board and liberty as far as it is marked with blue stones. From the palace gate the line is continued by a wall belonging to the cathedral, to the charnel-house, including which, it extends westward from thence by the end of the bishop's garden to the Severn, which river, from thence to the point where the limit began, forms its western boundary.

SECT. VII.

A SURVEY OF THE MONUMENTS IN THE CATHEDRAL.

CUTHBERT, the eleventh archbishop of Canterbury, during his stay at Rome, observing the custom of burying in and near churches, obtained a dispensation from the pope for making cemeteries or churchyards within towns and cities throughout England, and particularly for himself, that he might be buried in his own church, within the city of Canterbury. He died A. D. 758.

Many of his immediate successors followed his example, and in a few years the most eminent lay personages were also buried in churches, of which the most preferred for that purpose were cathedrals, and churches belonging to abbies and monasteries, in which prayers for the dead were more frequently offered up than in parochial or lesser churches. Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury, upon the rebuilding of that church in 1075, brought up the use of vaults, and of burying near the high altar. Since those periods the practice has become general throughout Europe.

Monuments and epitaphs are not very commonly met with prior to the Conquest. Indeed many must have been swept away and demolished in the more ancient churches, to make room for improvements; instances of which practice continually occur. The veneration all ages have shewn towards these memorials of the dead, has been sanctioned by very severe laws made against those who have dared to violate or destroy them.

The connection between sepulchres and places of worship is of the remotest antiquity. Tombs near and in temples, are not unfrequent among the Greeks. Mr. Gough (1) has quoted a variety of instances, and draws this inference from them: "what are these but so many prototypes of the disposition of monuments in Christian churches?" The custom has indeed become now so rooted and confirmed, that it occurs as naturally to our recollection on entering a church, that we are also entering the general mausoleum, or tomb of the vicinage, as that we are approaching a place of worship; nor does there appear but one founded objection against their union, namely, the danger to the living, from the crowded interments many of them have admitted in cities, more especially in the metropolis. But that

(1) Introd. Sepul. Mon. p. 3, 4.

the remedy being so easily attainable, and the complaint still suffered to exist, is the most extraordinary part of the consideration.

About the middle of the fourteenth century, the interment of the dead within this cathedral and its cemetery had become not only difficult to perform, but also dangerous, to permit its further continuance. And notwithstanding the convenience of the charnel-house, which had been erected for the purpose of receiving the bones of such as the making of graves for the newly deceased had occasioned to be displaced, and that it had been opened but a century before, such were the annoyances suffered, and the danger to which the health of the monks and of the citizens were exposed from the custom, that Wulstan de Braunsford, then Bishop of Worcester, issued his ordinance, dated at Hartlebury, 18th April, 1349, (1) directing the sacrist, at his discretion, to bury such bodies as might be brought to the cathedral or its cemetery for interment in the burial ground of St. Oswald's hospital. (2) By this prudent measure, not only were the monastery and the city relieved from a very alarming evil, but also the parishes of St. Alban, St. Helen, St. Swithin, St. Martin, St. Nicholas, and All Saints, whose churchyards were very confined, and not equal to the reception of the parochial deceased, were permitted to partake of the same advantage of sepulture; but without detriment to their respective incumbents, in the article of burial fees, agreeable to an ancient ordinance, established to that purpose in a synod held at Winchester, A. D. 1102, by Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury. (3) Hence St. Oswald's burial ground has accumulated that prodigious assemblage of tumulation which, at this time, cannot be viewed with indifference by the most cursory beholder.

From the cause that no interments have taken place either in the great cross ile or the nave, since the present floors of those parts have been laid down, the consequence has been that the number is increased in the Lady's chapel. It is evident, that whatsoever objections some may raise to the depositing of the dead in churches, the practice has been too long authorized and established to be suddenly annulled. To be laid near the remains of relatives or friends is a wish so natural and so powerful, that church doors are

(1) Bishop Wulstan died himself in the following August, and was buried in the cathedral.

(2) Ex. Reg. Wolst. v. I. f. 146, b. "De sepeliendo in cemeterio hospitalis Sancti Oswaldi." See Dr. Nash, vol. I. p. 226, 227, in Appendix. Art. "Claines,"

(3) Fuller's Ch. Hist. p. 16, 18.

not sufficiently strong wholly to repress it. The attempt might be a service of difficulty, if not of positive danger. Under these impressions, I conceive that not only interments might be continued in the whole of the Lady's chapel and its transepts, after the laying of a new floor, but also that they might be resumed in the present forbidden ground of the nave, and the great cross ile, when put under the regulation of a register, opened on the plan judiciously suggested by Mr. Bigland, in which, as he recommends, should be drawn on a large scale the ichnography of the church, with proper references to each person's grave or family vault; an obituary record of their names, age, dates, as usually inscribed on monuments, tombs, &c. should be kept, in which those entries should be made, and for which a moderate fee should be paid to the sacrist. Indecent and premature disturbance of the dead would thereby be wholly avoided, the order and economy of the church be preserved from the patchwork appearance of flat gravestones of all sizes, shapes, and colours; and the living would be rescued from the apprehension of being excluded the use of the church, by the injudicious and improvident manner of disposing of tombs and stone coffins, on what should be the open parts of its flooring; of the impropriety of which practice a most striking instance occurs in the Dean's chapel, through which it is rendered difficult to pass, from the very irregular manner in which its floor is occupied by the tombs and stone coffins it contains.

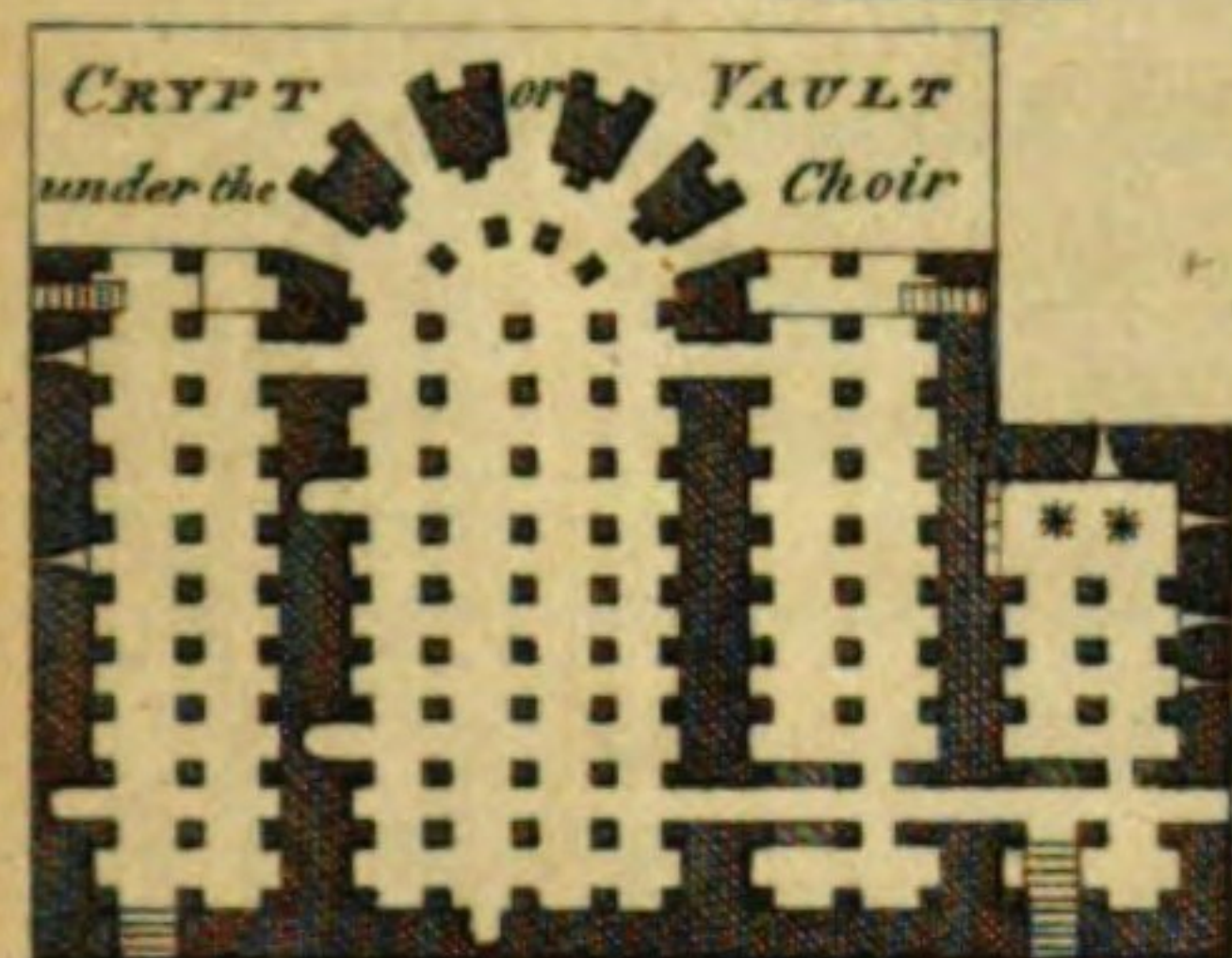
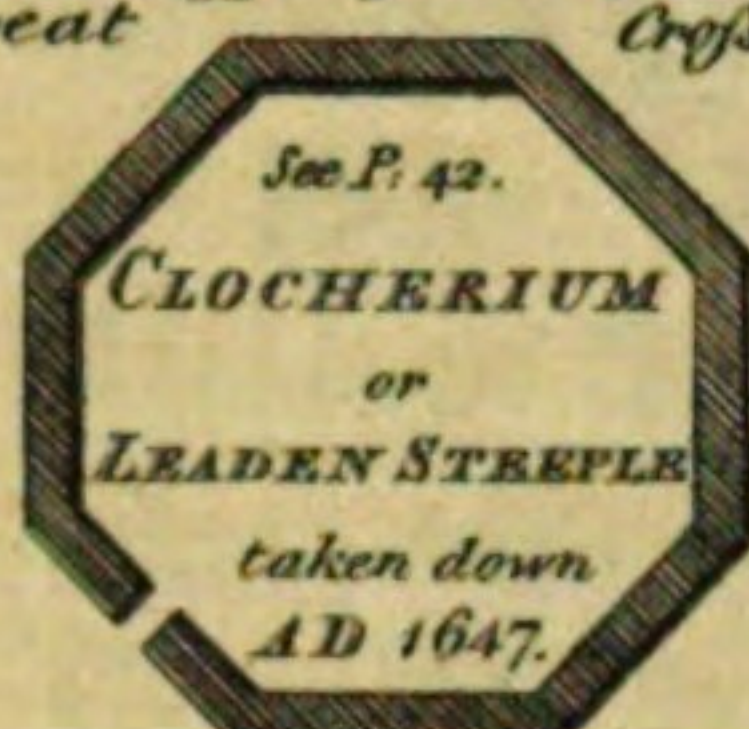
The present section reports only the monuments, tombs, tablets, flat gravestones, or other sepulchral memorials, to which references are made in the annexed Plan of the cathedral: and such of their inscriptions as have not already appeared in the publications of Mr. Abingdon, Dr. Thomas, and Dr. Nash, are given at large. The accounts of the rest of the flat gravestones now in being, within the cathedral and the cloisters, and of those monuments, tombs, and gravestones, that have been removed subsequent to the year 1736, to which period Dr. Thomas has brought them down in his Survey of this church, are inserted in the Appendix to this Section, No. VIII. from p. xxiv. to p. xxxiii.

MONUMENTS IN OUR LADY'S CHAPEL. MIDDLE ILE.

1. On the subject of the interment of King John, and pointing out this as the spot where his body was deposited, I have already so fully treated in Sect. IV. p. 67, which admitted of the discussion with equal propriety as it would have appeared in this, and to a more useful purpose also, as connected

REFERENCES.

- AAA. Our Lady's Chapel with its Side Iles. See P. 58.
 Consistory Court. 141
 Bishop's Chapel } Upper Cross Ile. 97
 Dean's Chapel }
 EEE. Choir with its Side Iles.
 Communion Table, or High Altar. 89
 Prince Arthur's Chapel. 98
 Pulpit. 136
 Corporation Seats.
 Stalls of the Archdeacons of Worcester
 and Gloucester before AD. 1541.
 Bishop's Throne.
 MMM. Ladies Galleries.
 N. Vestries.
 O. Sacrist's Balcony. 37
 P. Ascent to O. Cromwell's Chambers.
 Q. External Entrance to the Crypt.
 R. Great Cross Ile.
 S. Descent into the Crypt.
 T. Ascents to the Tower, the upper parts of the Choir,
 and Roofs East of the Great Cross Ile.



** This part of the Crypt is supposed to have been a sepulchral Chapel to the ancient Earls of Gloucester.

REFERENCES.

- In Our Lady's Chapel Middle Ile.
 1. King John, Stone Coffin. See P. 146
 2. St Oswald, S.C. or Bishop Sylvester.
 3. St Wulstan, S.C. or Bp Wm de Blois. 147
 4. Bp. Thornborough, Tomb.
 5. Dean Eedes, T.
 6. Ann Walton, Monument.
 7. Bp. Gauden, M.
 8. Bp. Stillingfleet, M.
 9. Bp. Fleetwood, M.
 10. Bp. Blandford, M.
 North Ile.
 11. Mary, Rae, M.
 12. Countess of Middleton, M.
 13. Lady Unknown, S.C.
 14. Sir Ja. Beauchamp, S.C. 149
 from North Ile of the Choir.
 15. Jane Rous, M.
 16. Bp. Walter de Cantalupe, T.
 17. Eliz. Powell, M.
 18. Bp. John de Constantis, S.C.
 Bishop's Chapel.
 19. Canon Henry Bright, M.
 20. Bp. Parry, T.
 21. Bp. Hemenhale, S.C.
 from Jesus Chapel.
 South Ile.
 22. Countess of Surrey, T.
 23. Bp. Godfrey Giffard, T. 152
 Dean's Chapel.
 24. M^{rs} F. Mostyne, M.
 25. Phil. Hanford, last Abbot of Evesham, S.C. 153
 26. Dean Willis, T.
 27. Dean Wilson, T.
 28. Sir Rob. Harcourt, S.C.
 29. Lady Unknown, S.C.
 30. Sir Griffith Rice & Lady, T. 154
 31. Cath. Talbot, M.
 Choir.
 32. Bp. Bullingham, M.
 33. Bp. Goldisburgh's Wife, M.
 34. Duke Hamilton.
 35. Prince Arthur, T. 155
 36. King John, Cenotaph. 156

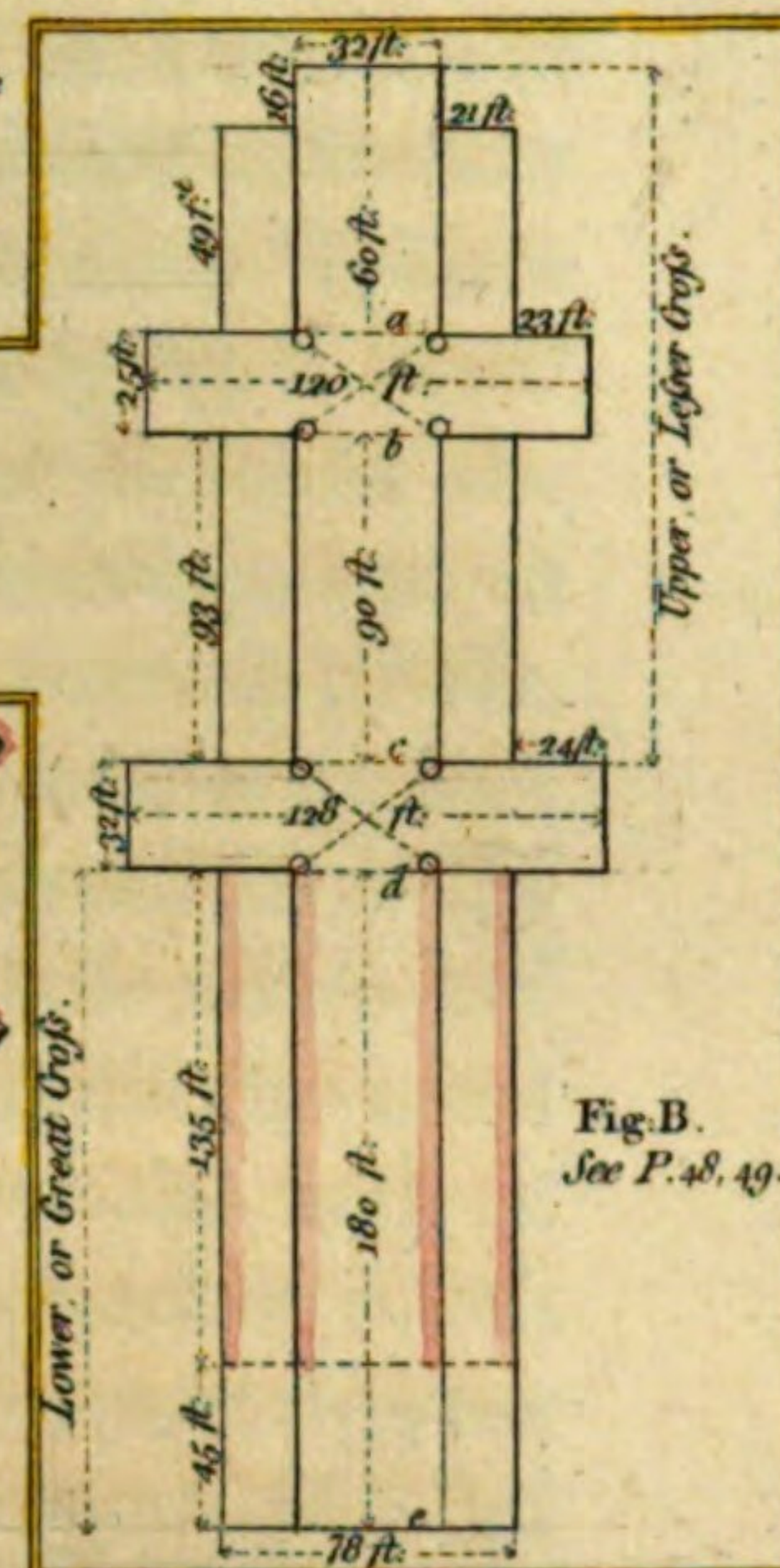
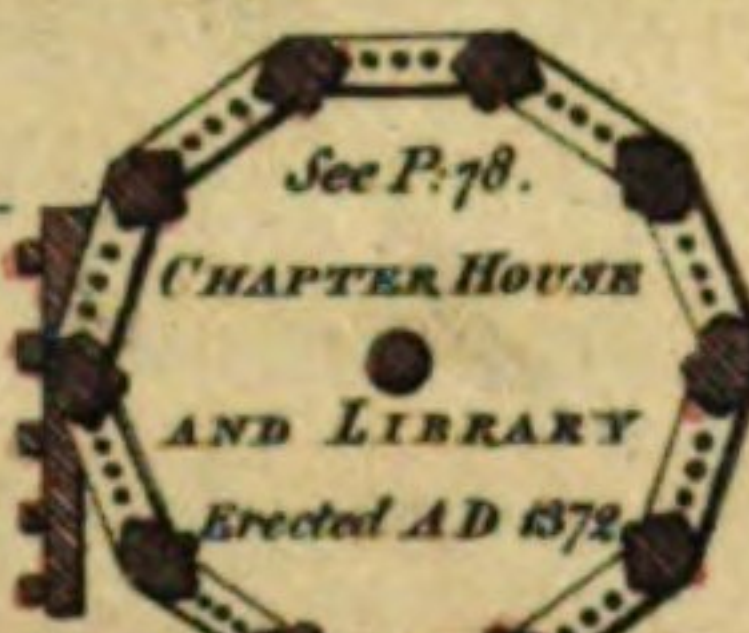
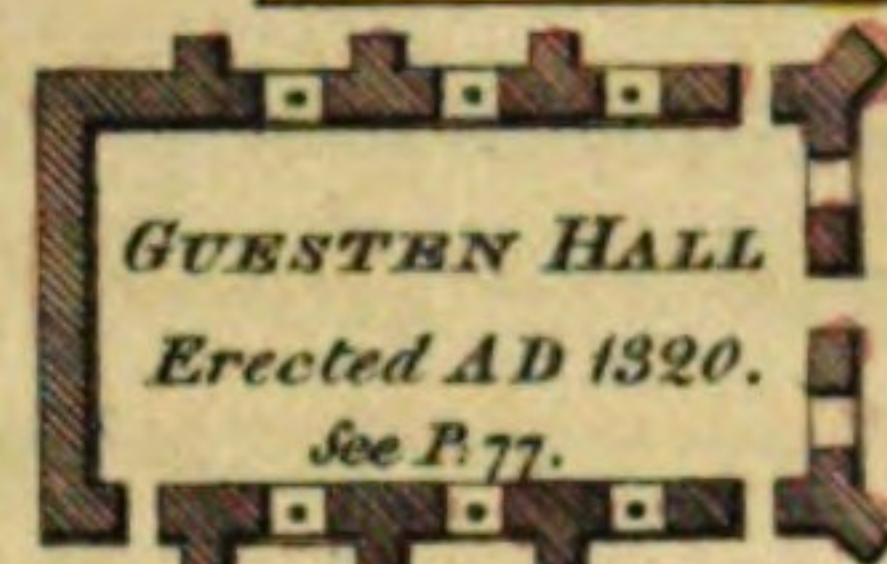
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SCALE OF FEET.

REFERENCES.

- VVVV. Nave with its Side Iles. See P. 98, 109
 U. Jesus Chapel with the New Font.
 W. Principal Entrance, or Porch. 53.
 XX. Entrances from the Cloisters.
 Y. Ascent to the Roofs and upper parts of the Nave & its North Ile
 Z. Ascent to the Ancient Parvis, now a depository of Records,
 and to the Roof of the South Ile.
 a. Passage to the Deanry. 77
 b. Entrance to the Chapter House. 78
 c. Entrance to the 4th Prebendal House, formerly the Hospitaller's.
 d. Entrance to the Refectory. 80
 e. Entrance to the 3rd Prebendal House, formerly the Subprior's.
 f. Ancient Lavatory. 82
 g. Entrance to the Ancient Dormitory. 87
 h. Door to the Ascent of the Spital Lodgings for Travellers. 88
 i. Ancient East Window.
 k. New One, Erected 1792. 142
 l. Old West Window, Erected 1380.
 m. New One, Erected 1789.
 n. Charnel House, Erected 1224.
 o. Demolished 1677. 54
 A temporary entrance opened 1788, now closed.

Relative Proportions in the Plan of the CATHEDRAL.



CLOISTER, Erected AD 1372.

PASSAGE

Ancient REFECTORY now the KING'S SCHOOL Erected AD 1372. See P. 80.

CLOISTER GREEN

CLOISTER See P. 77.

ERECTED BY BISHOP BLOIS 1224. See P. 44.

Supposed Part of ST. OSWALD'S CHURCH built 983. See P. 30. United to the present Cathedral by B. WAKEFIELD 1380.

REFERENCES.

- Great Cross Ile.
 37. Bp. Hough, M. See P. 157
 38. Judge Street, M.
 39. Bp. Maddox, M.
 40. Henrietta Wrottesley, M.
 41. Bp. Johnson, M.
 42. John Dobbins, M.
 43. Edw. Archbold, M.
 North Ile of the Nave.
 44. Moores Family, M.
 Middle Ile & about the Pillars.
 45. Sir John Beauchamp & Lady, T.
 46. Robt. Wilde Esq. & Lady, T.
 47. Frances Griffith, M.
 48. Rob. Luddington, M.
 49. Philip Fell, M.
 50. Cicell Warmstry, M.
 51. Bp. Wakefield. 164
 South Ile.
 52. Bp. Thomas, M. See P. 164
 53. Ja. Johnstone, Jun. M.D. M.
 54. Friar Barkerville, T.
 55. Rich. Inglethorpe, M.
 56. Unknown, T.
 57. Octavia Walsh, M.
 58. Catharine Palmer, M.
 59. Unknown, T. 165
 60. Jn. Bromley, Esq. M.
 61. Judge Lyttelton, T.
 62. Sir Tho. Lyttelton & Lady, M.
 63. Bp. Freak, T.
 64. Susanna Warren, M.
 North Cloister.
 65. Alex. Neckham, S.C. 166
 66. Mary Townshend, M.
 67. Dean St John, M.
 68. Mary Hall, M.

Measured by B. Seal.

J. Rpt. sculpt.

PLAN of the CATHEDRAL CHURCH of WORCESTER.

London, Published by V. Green Dec^r. 1st 1795.

with the investigation of the original arrangement of this part of the church; the necessity of farther mention of it, than merely as the leading article of the present Section, is thereby superseded.

2. 3. The same observation applies to the ancient graves of St. Oswald and St. Wulstan, placed on each side that of King John, and supposed to be now occupied by the remains of the Bishops Sylvester, and his successor William de Blois. They are denoted by the effigies of two bishops, lying at equal distance from the great east window, and are represented as vested for the altar, and mitred; their right hands lifted up as giving a blessing, and in their left hands a baculus or staff. Those are the tombs asserted by Dr. Thomas to belong to the Bishops John de Constantiis, and Godfrey de Giffard; but which are now more generally and properly considered as the graves of St. Oswald and St. Wulstan. The ground where these saints had lain was always esteemed to possess great sanctity, and was accordingly visited annually by the Roman Catholics with great veneration, on the 19th of January, the anniversary of Bishop Wulstan's death; (1) a custom which was devoutly continued by them down to the last age. But I cannot suppose that any part of the tomb, or of the shrine of either of these saints was left undestroyed at the Reformation; when all shrines, to which miracles had been imputed, and all monuments that had been objects of superstition, were taken away, broken to pieces, or burnt.

4. Under the first arch, between the pillars on the north side, is a handsome monument erected by Bishop Thornborough, in 1627, fourteen years before his death. On the tomb lies his statue in his episcopal robes, his hands elevated as in prayer. The arch over him is supported by four pillars, on which are several inscriptions. That above the arch on the north side of the tomb has attracted much notice, but to little purpose:—"In Uno 2^o 3^a 4^{or} 10. Non spirans sper" may couch a meaning known to its author; but the application of those mystical numbers being lost, we are but little gratified in

(1) Anniversaries and obits were masses yearly celebrated on the day of the death of a particular person, or benefactor to the church. These masses may be seen in the Romish missals, under the title of "Missæ pro Defunctis." They owed their rise to the notion of praying for souls departed, and continued to be used till the year 1559. "The monthes minde, the yeares minde, the two yeares minde," &c. was a similar mass to those of the obit and anniversary: the word *minde* in this case implies a memorial or remembrance of the deceased, at the appointed time the ceremony was to be observed. The term of monthes minde was changed about the time of the abolition of the practice of observing it, to "monthes monument." See Archæologia, vol. I. p. 11. Art. IV.; and Morant's Colchester, p. 159.

having the solution of an enigma proposed to us, where we might have expected other matter from the character to which the tomb relates. He died at Hartlebury, 3 July, 1641, aged 94.

5. Opposite to this, on the south side, under the first arch, is a fine monument of Dean Eedes, on which his figure is represented cumbent, his head resting on a double pillow, and his hands joined in the gesture of prayer; at his feet a lion. The top is supported by four Corinthian pillars. He died 1604. (1)

6. On the north wall, is a small monument of Mrs. Anne Walton; she died 1662, aged 52.

On the west wall of this ile, which forms the back of the high altar of the choir, are the following monuments, viz.

7. John Gauden, D. D. Bishop of Worcester, who died 1662, aged 57. In a concave oval, a half length figure of this prelate of the size of life is introduced, holding in his right hand a book, supposed to be meant for the *Icon Basilike*. (2)

8. Edward Stillingfleet, D. D. Bishop of Worcester. He died 1699, aged 64.

9. James Fleetwood, D. D. Bishop of Worcester, died 1683, aged 81.

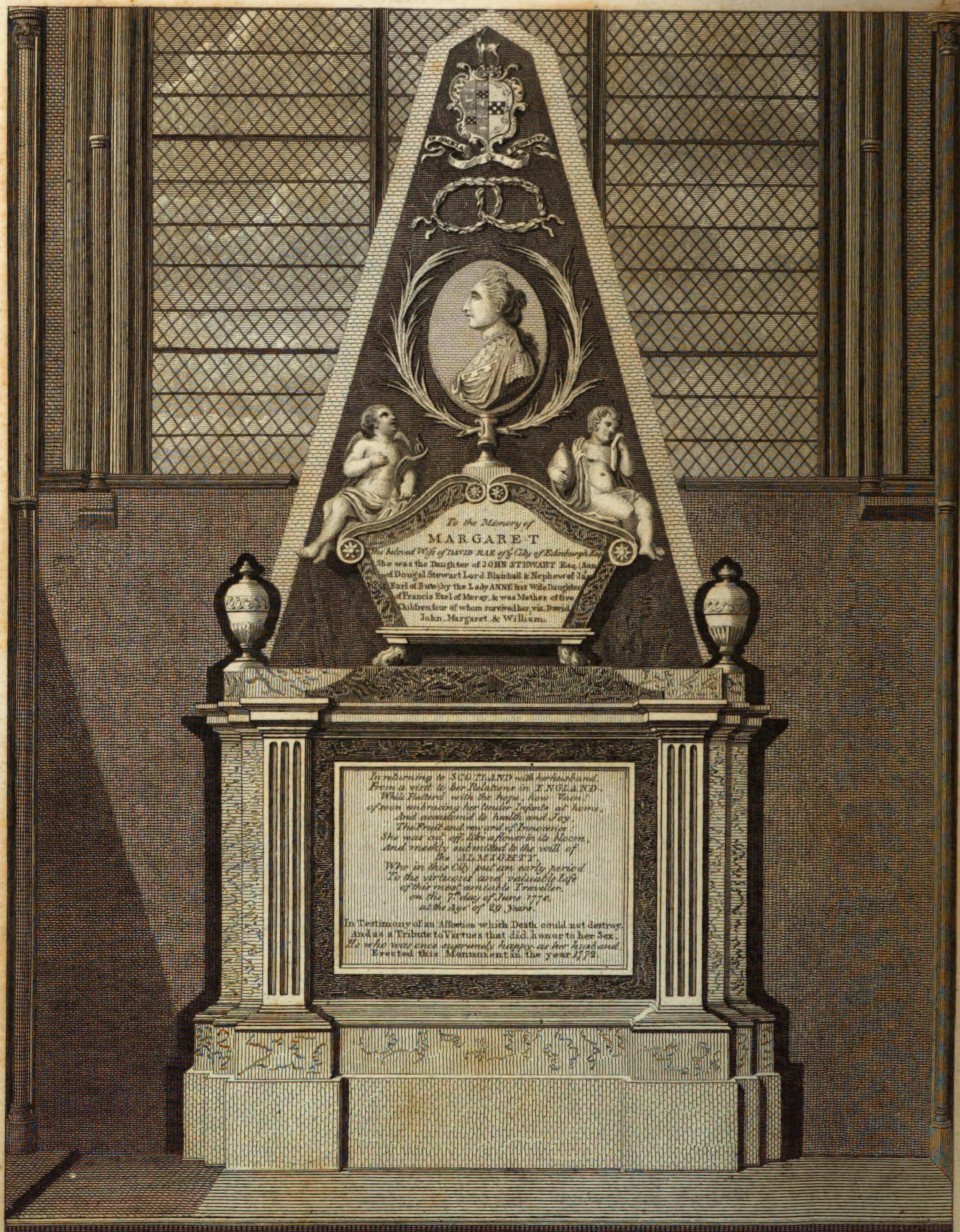
10. Walter Blandford, D. D. Bishop of Worcester, died 1675, aged 59. (3)

(1) The tombs and monuments erected about the time of Elizabeth and James I. seem to have had their origin from the fashion of the immense bedsteads of those days, on which such abundance of timber and carving are bestowed. Of this sort also are the monuments of Bishop Thornborough, Dean Eedes, and Bishop Parry, in the Bishop's chapel.

(2) This book was a collection of meditations and prayers of K. Charles I. composed by him during his troubles. The stile of the book is strong, elegant, and perspicuous, and its manly sentiments reflect unfading honour on the royal author. His enemies, not content with having deprived him of his life, endeavoured to rob him of the reputation of having written this performance, which they ascribed to Dr. Gauden (and his monument seems to countenance that suggestion): but every reader of discernment will find it so much superior in stile, matter, and composition, to any of the doctor's productions, that he will be persuaded, whoever was, Dr. Gauden could not be the writer of the *Icon*. See Smollet's *History of Eng.* vol. vii. p. 371.

(3) The four last mentioned monuments are of a mixed stile of construction, ornamental and architectural; in which the departure from the massy heaviness of the last age is very strongly marked, and a fanciful disposition of embellishment begins to appear. See engravings of them in succession in Dr. Thomas's *Survey*, from p. 49 to 52. Their inscriptions are in Latin; that of Bishop Stillingfleet came from the masterly hand of Dr. Bentley, his chaplain.

The monuments of Mrs. Catherine Talbot in the Dean's chapel, of Mrs. Wrottesley in the great cross ile, and of Bishop Thomas, John Bromley Esq. and Mrs. Octavia Walsh, in the north ile of the nave, are all of that class of sculpture.



J. Rees Wor. delin.

J. Landow sculp.

MONUMENT of M^{RS} RAE in WORCESTER CATHEDRAL.
*To the Right Honourable David Rae of Eskgrove,
 A Lord of the Session, and Lord Commissioner of Justiciary in Scotland.
 This Plate (Presented by his Lordship to this Work) is most Respectfully Dedicated,
 by his Lordships most Devoted and Obligated humble Servant.*

London Published by V. Green June 1st 1792.

Valentine Green.

NORTH ILE.

11. At the east end of this ile is erected a very beautiful monument to the memory of Mrs. Margaret Rae, who died 1770, aged 29. It is composed of various coloured marble, and enriched with a profile bust of the lady on an oval tablet. The annexed plate will best discharge the duties of description, and put the reader in full possession of the sculptor's design at a single glance. The inscription it bears, and which is engraved on the plate, has already appeared in Dr. Nash, vol. II. p. clvi. in Appendix: that on the flat stone laid over the vault in which Mrs. Rae is interred, varying in some degree from those on the monument, and having never been published, is inserted in the Appendix to this Section, No. VIII. p. xxv.

12. Beneath the east window of the north wall, is the monument of Dorothy Countess of Middleton, who died 1705, aged 71.

13. Under the second window on the floor lies a stone coffin of a lady, removed hither from the charnel-house chapel, 13 Jan. 1636, where it had been placed on the north side, and was the only tomb that chapel could boast. Her figure is lying thereon, of a more than ordinary size; on her head is a coronet, or rather, as it would appear from the plate in Dr. Thomas's Survey, p. 60, the wreath on which the coronet is placed; at her feet a bracket formed of foliage, which runs round the moulding of the tomb. On her chin she has a wimplet; (1) her right hand lying on her breast, is bare, her left has on a glove, in which she also holds the other, and is laid over her body; which form, according to the ritual of marriage, signifies a maiden designed for the nuptial state: but who she was is not known.

14. Near this is an ancient tomb of a knight of the holy voyage, armed in mail, with a round helmet and surcoat; his right hand on his sword, which is partly drawn, on his left a long pointed shield; his legs laid across, and at his feet a lion. (2) This tomb was removed hither from the north ile of the choir; in a window which was over it were the arms of Beauchamp; from whence it was concluded it might be Sir James Beauchamp.

(1) These wimplets, or rather mufflers, were worn only by persons of the greatest quality. The barbe or wimplet was a kind of chin-cloth, of fine linen, worn by mourners. No lady under the degree of a baroness was permitted to wear it *on* her chin, knights wives were to wear it *under* their chins; and esquire's wives and gentlemen of note wore them beneath their throats.

(2) It is not unfrequent to find the distinction of knights Templars, and knights of the holy voyage confounded and wrongly applied in the obituary accounts of their tombs. The former were a religious order, and followed the rule of the canons regular of St. Austin, and under a vow of celibacy. The latter

15. On a small tablet, surmounted by an urn, and fixed to the second pillar from the east, is the following inscription. "To the memory of Jane Rous, who departed this life the 8th day of September, 1789. Her remains are deposited in a vault near this pillar."

16. Under the easternmost arch of the north wall of the choir, parallel with the altar, is the tomb of a prelate, who is represented on it in his sacred vestments, but much defaced: his head lying on a double cushion, supported by angels, and at his feet two lions, (1) the prelate it was designed for, if he were not Walter de Cantelupe, is unknown. It is recorded of that bishop, in the Worcester Annals, that he was buried near the great altar. On the subject of his interment I have already treated in Sect. IV. p. 67. This tomb has not been noticed either by Mr. Abingdon nor Dr. Thomas.

17. Above this tomb on the same wall is fixed a small monument of Mrs. Elizabeth Powel, widow, she died 1697.

18. Under another arch (2) of the same wall is the tomb of John de Constantiis, who died Bishop of Worcester, A. D. 1198. He is represented mitred and vested, his hands raised as giving a benediction; his head supported by two angels, and at his feet a lion. In Sect. IV. p. 65, 66, an account is given of the removal of this tomb, to make way for that of Bishop Godfrey Giffard. Dr. Thomas has supposed this to have been the tomb of Bishop Oswald, because it happened to be nearly opposite to that of King John in the choir.

included married men; and the custom of representing them cross-legged on their tombs, as crusaders, was universal. Antiq. Rep. II. p. 226, and note 6. p. cxliii. Introd. Sep. Mon. See also Dr. Nash, vol. I. p. 31, in which he remarks, those cross-legged figures on tombs are very difficult to be met with out of England; and that they belong only to married men.

(1) Mr. Hearne* explains the lions at the feet of sepulchral effigies as emblems of vigilance, industry, and courage; and parallels them with the lion on the tombs of the Bœotians, who died fighting against Philip, and were buried in one common polyandrium.† Bishop Cantelupe was however no soldier; he nevertheless distinguished himself so honourably and successfully, as the champion of the ancient English hierarchy against papal innovation, as to have acquired in right of that exertion a distinction I have nowhere met with besides on the tomb of an ecclesiastic, two lions placed at his feet; another evidence also in support of the conjecture that this is the tomb of Walter de Cantelupe, Bishop of Worcester, whose death happened in 1266.

(2) Tombs that are placed under arches formed in the walls of churches, are of the most ancient date. Those of Walter de Cantelupe and John de Constantiis are of that class, and correspond with the age in which they lived. They are unquestionably the oldest tombs in the cathedral.

* Roper's life of More, p. 270. † Pausan. Bœot. p. 606, ed. Hanov. 1613. Polyandrium was the name given to the common burying grounds of abbies, in which, as it seems from M. Paris, the faithful under *interdict* might be buried. See also Anselm's "Palais de l'Honneur," Rule 3.

BISHOP'S CHAPEL.

19. On the east wall of this chapel is placed the monument of Mr. Henry Bright, a native of Worcester, forty years master of the king's school, and then prebendary of this church, celebrated for his intimate acquaintance with literature, and the great number of scholars he trained up. He died anno 1626. This monument was removed hither from the west side of the great north pillar of the belfry, to which it was originally fixed, and where the body is deposited.

20. Against its north wall is a handsome tomb of Bishop Parry, with a statue of him recumbent and praying. Symonds in his MS. church notes for Worcester, says, "this monument was much defaced, and the head of the figure broken off, by the rebels in 1643." (1) Over the arch, which is supported by pillars, are the figures of Time and Death, with an inscription. He died in 1616.

21. On the right of the entrance of this chapel is the stone coffin of Bishop Hemenhale, on which his statue, much defaced, is represented in a cumbent posture; he died A.D. 1338. His tomb was originally raised in Jesus' chapel; but on its being laid open, was taken down, and the figure laid where we now find it. See the Appendix to this Section, No. VIII. p. xxxi.

SOUTH ILE.

22. Under a monumental arch, beneath the east end of Prince Arthur's chapel (on the erecting of which the top of the arch was taken down), is the tomb of the Countess of Surrey. She is represented lying thereon, having on her head, which rests on a double cushion, a veil, and on her chin a wimplet, or deep muffler, extending over her breast, and holding in her hands a rosary. Several escutcheons of arms are dispersed about her; the whole of the figure has peculiar ease and elegance. About her kirtle or inward drapery, thus blazoned; or, a fret gules; and others on her mantle, or, chequé, gules, and azure. A talbot is couchant at her feet. The arms on her inner garment are Lord Verdon's, and from thence she is reasonably supposed to be of that family; and by those on her mantle being Warren's, Earl of Surrey, that she was Countess of Surrey by marriage. (1) Mr. Willis is

(1) Vol. II. No 965. Art. 16. Harl. Coll. Brit. Mus.

(1) Though the blazoning of arms does not form a part of my plan, yet here I have found it requisite to support truth against a prevailing opinion, that assigns this tomb to the Countess of Salisbury, who dropped her garter whilst dancing before Edward III. from whence the order of the garter is by many

more particular, and says, that the Countess of Surrey who lies here, died in the time of King Henry III. which is repugnant to history. The two wives of William Earl Warren and of Surrey, who died both in that reign, were interred in the abbey of Lewes, Sussex ; as also were all the countesses their successors, of whom we have any account, down to Joan, the relict of John the last earl of this family, which lady died beyond sea. (1)

23. Under another monumental arch adjoining, and also beneath the chapel of Prince Arthur, is the tomb of Bishop Godfrey Giffard, who died in 1301, and who lies interred beneath it. This tomb, which was prepared before his death, and originally placed in the corresponding arch on the north side of the altar, was removed from thence hither, and that of John de Constantiis was restored to its place, as already has been represented in Sect. IV. p. 65, 66. Dr. Thomas and others have erroneously assigned this tomb to St. Wulstan, as if determined on fulfilling Merlin's prediction, and let the tomb of King John be where it might, those of St. Oswald and St. Wulstan were made to follow it. The figure of the prelate is laid upon the tomb, pontifically habited and mitred ; over his head is a richly ornamented Gothic canopy, in the pediment of which angels are placed to guard his repose ; his shoes are studded on the tops with jewels (the fashion of the times) sculptured upon them. The sides of this, and of the tomb of the Countess of Surrey, are uniformly and richly ornamented with a series of saints, mar-

supposed to have been instituted. The order of the garter was indeed instituted by that king, but from an incident of a very different nature. The king having given his own garter for the signal of a battle that sped fortunately (thought to be that of Cressy), he thence took occasion to institute that noble order, and gave the garter, assumed by him for the symbol of union and society, pre-eminence among the ensigns thereof. [See Ashmole's History of the Order of the Garter ; and Sandford's Genealogical History, p. 163.] Some superficial observer, on seeing the rose circumscribed by the garter on Prince Arthur's chapel, a mark only of his dignity, and finding the tomb of this lady beneath it, hastily concluded it was a memorial of the Countess of Salisbury : the fancy gained credit ; topographical writers, compilers of gazetteers, tours, &c. have caught it up, as might be expected, without examination ; a trouble they choose to leave to their readers. This garter, rose, or any other device on that front of Prince Arthur's chapel, has no more connection with the tomb of that lady, than of the bishop, who also lies beneath it.

Byshe (on Upton's Aspilogia, p. 64.) says the arms on the *inner* garment are *maiden*, and those on the *outer, married* bearings. "Where the figure of a woman is found, with arms both on her kirtle and mantle, those on the kirtle are always her own family's, and those on her mantle her husband's. [Mr. Lethieullier, in Archæologia, vol. II. p. 299. Introd. Sepul. Mon. p. cv.]

The real fact is, that this figure represents ANDELA, daughter and sole heiress of Griffin de Albo Monasterio, or Blanchminster, Lord of Ichtefeld, Salop, wife of John son of Griffin de Warren, natural son of William sixth Earl of Surrey. [Watson's Hist. of the Warren Family, I. p. 208, where this tomb is re-engraved. (1) Dugdale's Baronage, I. p. 73.

tyrs, and apostles seated in quatrefoils, the spandrells of which are filled with the heads of angels. The stile and fashion of this tomb bespeak it a work of superior excellence of the era in which it was produced, and worthy the taste of its founder and possessor. On removal, it was most probably curtailed in some of its external splendour, more especially about the arch in which it was placed; but from the evidences it still retains, without looking further into its history, it is strange that this tomb, which belongs to the fourteenth century, should be so pertinaciously assigned to a prelate who died two hundred years before. The tomb of the Countess of Surrey is evidently of the same age.

24. On the east wall of this chapel was a monument erected for Dean Pendor, (1) which being taken down, another is there erected to the memory of Franciscæ, the wife of Mr. Richard Moystyne. She died A. D. 1678.

25. Beneath, on the floor, on the left of the entrance, is the stone coffin of Philip Hawford, alias Ballard, the last abbat of Evesham, who died A. D. 1557. His effigy lies on the coffin, in the robes of an abbat, his head mitred and supported by angels; at his feet a lion; his right hand is held up as blessing, in his left is a staff, not with a cross as a metropolitan's, nor a crozier as a bishop's, thereby distinguishing him as an abbat. He is represented as having his gloves on, and on the back of each a jewel of a large size is sculptured on the stone, similar to the real ones originally set in those of King John, on his tomb, while it remained in the Lady's chapel. The sides and ends of this tomb have an ornament of quatrefoils encircled.

26. The next is a handsome raised altar tomb of Dean Willis, president of St. John's college, Oxford; he died 1596. On his tomb was an inscription on brass, stolen away before 1641. The arms of the deanry of Worcester and of St. John's college, with his own arms, argent, a cheveron gules, between three willow trees, proper, as a rebus of the name, are also on his tomb. A MS. note by Browne Willis, inserted under the article "Francis Willis," as Dean of Worcester, in vol. I. p. 658 of his *Cathedrals* (in the library of Craven Orde, Esq.) says, "this tomb at Worcester was repaired by my greatly importuning it, and promise to give somewhat to it if desired, on coming to Worcester; but this was never demanded, and so the guinea saved. B. W."

(1) See Appendix to this Section, No. VIII. p. xxxi.

27. In the east corner is another altar tomb of Dean Wilson, D. D. whose inscription is on a tablet fixed in the south wall over it. He died 1586.

28. Under an arch in the south wall, is an ancient tomb, with a cumbent effigy of Sir Robert Harcourt, a knight of the crusade, in a helmet, surcoat, and coat of mail, exactly corresponding in figure, arms, and attitude, to that of Sir James Beauchamp, before described. A lion is laid at his feet. (1)

29. Beneath this, on the floor, is an ancient stone coffin of a lady unknown. Her figure is laid upon it; the coiffure or head-dress is of a peculiar kind, from which is dependent a veil; on her chin a muffler; over her garments is an outward covering or mantle, held up by her right hand; her left is placed on her breast, holding her cordon, and at her feet a little dog. (2)

30. In the centre of this chapel is an ancient tomb of Sir Griffyth Ryce, as appears by the inscription round its verge. His figure, with his lady's, were of cast brass, inlaid on the top, but now entirely gone. (3) At their feet were interred their children. Sir Griffyth died, A. D. 1522, in the 14th year of King Henry VIII. The date of the decease of lady Catherine his wife, daughter of Sir John Saint John, is defaced.

31. On the west wall is fixed a neat monument of Mrs. Catherine Talbot, wife of Dr. Talbot, Bishop of Oxford, and Dean of Worcester. She died 1702.

MONUMENTS IN THE CHOIR.

32. On the north side of the altar is a very uncouthly compounded monument of Bishop Bullingham; his figure is laid on the tomb, on which the superincumbent wall is most barbarously piled, so that only his head, which is rested on a book, and the upper part of his body, with his arms, appear in one opening of the wall, and his legs in the other. Before that part of the figure which is supposed to be lying under the wall, but which, in fact, cuts it in two, is a tablet with an inscription, over which, to render it uniformly

(1) None of those cross-legged figures are of an earlier date than King Stephen, in whose reign the crusades began; nor later than Edw. II. or the beginning of Edw. III. they having ceased about the year 1312.

(2) An emblem of faithfulness and vigilance. The figures of dogs are mostly found at the feet of ladies on their tombs.

(3) The first instances that occur of flat gravestones, with and without brass ornaments and inscriptions, are in the latter end of the thirteenth century. In the sixteenth century armorial bearings multiplied on tombs, and were introduced in great abundance in their canopies, and among other parts of their embellishments. These distinctions appear to have succeeded to the painting of arms on the surcoats, shields, &c. of the armed figures on monuments and tombs. [Introduct. Sepulchral Monuments, p. c.]

absurd, on a shield, the arms of the bishop are placed on the dexter side impaling those of the see, completely contrary to all armorial etiquette. In this state lies the good bishop, with his hands elevated, as if imploring a release from the barbarisms that surround him. An inscription on a stone tablet over his head has been overlooked by Dr. Thomas, viz. "All fleshe is grass, and all the goodliness thereof is as the floure of the field. The prophecie of Esai, the xl chapter." An inscription in memory of him is also fixed on the other side of the wall, which leads us to suppose that he is interred in the north ile of the Lady's chapel. He died 1576.

A more ancient monument, probably that of Godfrey de Giffard, appears to have been removed from this place, the traces of which are still visible within the inclosure of the altar, and without in the Lady's chapel.

33. Near this, within an ornamented arch, flanked by two Corinthian pillars, is the effigy of Abigail, wife of Godfrey Goldisburgh, Bishop of Gloucester. She is represented in the dress of the age, kneeling and praying. She died 1613. (1)

34. In a space included between the distances of ten and thirteen feet from the north side wall of the altar, and one foot within its inclosure, the body of William the gallant Duke of Hamilton, slain at the battle of Worcester in 1651, lies interred. The position of his grave is marked in the Plan of the cathedral, and referred to under No. 35. See also Appendix to this Section, No. VIII. p. xxvi. (2)

35. On the south side of the choir, and parallel with the altar, is the chapel of Prince Arthur, elder brother of King Henry VIII. In Section IV. under the article "Chapels," having already given a minute and detailed account of this elegant mausoleum and its decorations, I have only to add in this place, that the tomb in which the body is deposited is of marble throughout, decorated with the arms of England and France, quarterly, painted on the

(1) See the engraving of this monument in Dr. Thomas's Survey, p. 41.

(2) The wound which occasioned the death of the Duke of Hamilton was received in one of his legs a little below the knee, by a slug shot, which shattered the bone so fatally as wholly to disable him from keeping the field, and he was forced to retire into the town, where he fell into the enemies hands in the evening of the day of battle. He was lodged at the Commandery, where his wound was searched by Mr. Kincaid, the king's surgeon, who pronounced amputation as the only means of saving his life. Cromwell sent his own surgeon, Trappam, to wait on the duke, who assured him there was no hazard. Two days after the wound had been received by the duke, Sir Robert Cunningham, the king's physician, being found among the prisoners, was brought to him, who reported to him, at his desire, that from the great

several dies of its sides, and ends in quatrefoils; and on the verge of its covering stone the original inscription has been restored as follows:

“Peere lyeth buried Prince Arthur, the first begotten sonne of the righte Renowned King Henry the Seaventhe, which noble Prince departed out of this transitory life att the castle of Ludlowe in the seaventeenthe peere of his father's raygne, and in the pere of oure Lorde God on thousonde five hundred and two.” (1)

The heart of the prince was buried in the chancel of the church of Ludlow, but the inscription which was put up against the north wall has been white-washed over, and thence forgotten. The heart was some years since taken up in a silver box, and was found to be double, or as it is there called, twinney; the box was embezzled by the sexton, who was punished for the breach of trust by a dismissal from his place. (2)

36. In the choir, near to the ascent of the high altar, is the monument or tomb of King John, the most ancient one that is extant, in England at least, of all the lineal ancestors of his present Majesty, from the time of William the Conqueror. (3) That of Henry I. which is the only one known of an earlier age lies involved in that chaos of ruins, the abbey of Reading in Berkshire. King John's body was conveyed hither from Newark, by the Earl of Pembroke. His effigy lies on the tomb crowned, whereon was written *Johannes Rex Angliæ*, which is now entirely defaced. In his right hand is part of a sceptre, in his left a sword lying by him, whose point is received into the mouth of a couchant lion at his feet. This figure

loss of blood, nothing but an amputation afforded a probability of his recovery. Trappam's opinion had however so encouraged the duke to hope to save so severe an operation, that death alone could extinguish. At length finding his strength fail, and feeling himself gradually declining, he sent his last thoughts to his lady and nieces, written with his own hand, and dated Worcester, Sept. 8th, 1651; and on the 12th, about noon, expired, in the 35th year of his age. His body was interred before the high altar in the cathedral church of Worcester, notwithstanding he had by his will ordered that it might be buried with his ancestors at Hamilton, and the earnest request of his servants for leave to carry it to Scotland, it was denied. [Burnet's Memoirs of James * and William, Dukes of Hamilton, folio, 1677. p. 427—430]

(1) The old Gothic square letter in which this inscription is written, and in which that on the tomb of Sir Griffyth Ryce in the Dean's chapel is engraved in brass, was changed into the present Roman letter after the reign of Edward VI. and the phrase “Orate pro anima,” with which monumental inscriptions usually begun, were universally omitted. [See Mr. Lethieullier, in *Archæologia*, vol. II. p. 297. *Introd. Sep. Mon.* p. c. A very respectable engraving of Prince Arthur's tomb is given in Sandford's *Gen. Hist.* p. 476.] His portrait is represented in the north window of Jesus' chapel, in the priory of Great Malvern, in this county. (2) Gough's *Sep. Mon.* in *Introd.* p. lvi. lxxiii. (3) Dr. Thomas.

* James Duke of Hamilton, the eldest brother, was beheaded A. D. 1648-9, in the 43d year of his age.



SACRED TO POSTERITY

To the vision of the most excellent Priest
 Dr. JOHN HOUGH
 The ever memorable President of Magdalen College Oxon.
 In the Reign of R. James the 1st.
 Called forth to his sacred and important Station
 For his Learning, Frugality, Piety.
 He maintained it to the day of Death
 With Ability, Integrity, Diligence
 Firm in the Defence of the invaded Rights of his College
 Brave and courageous for his Church and Nation.
 He opposed the Rage of Popish Superstition and Tyranny
 Let the Avarice of Bishops and Priests
 In happy Times
 He was advanced to a Chair of Religion and Liberty
 of his Country.
 In honorable Testimony of his eminent Services to both,
 Was made Bishop of Oxford A.D. 1699.
 To the See of Worcester A.D. 1702.
 In his faithful Administration of the pastoral Office
 By prudent Government he inspired Affection.
 By pious Example he inspired Reverence.
 He was beloved and beloved.
 And left to each Successor a well regulated Diocese
 In every Condition and Relation.

*He was the son of John Hough Citizen of London and Margaret his Wife Daughter of Sir Richard of Littleport in the County
 of Stafford Esq. and married Anne Daughter of The Right Hon. Sir Robert Clayton Bart. of Brighthelm in the County
 of Devon. He was born in the City of London in the Parish of St. Dunstons in the Year 1640. He died in the City of
 Worcester in the Year 1702. He was buried in the Cathedral Church of Worcester in the Year 1702.*

BISHOP HOUGH'S MONUMENT
 TO THE *Rev. Martin Joseph Routh, D.D. President, &c.*
 is most respectfully Dedicated by their most Devoted



in **WORCESTER CATHEDRAL.**
 the Fellows of Magdalen College, Oxford, THIS PLATE
 and obliged humble Serv^t Valentine Green.

From an Original Drawing Presented to the Society of Magdalen College Oxford

by Martin Wall M.D. Lichfields Clinical Professor in that University.

sc. Sculptor. — R. Loder, Oxford, Delin.

London Published by V. Green Oct 10 1796.

Engraved by J. Landon

is as large as life. (1) On each side of him are cumbent images of the bishops St. Oswald and St. Wulstan, in smaller size, each of one stone of fine grey marble: they are represented as censing him. King John died 19th Oct. 1215, in the 51st year of his age, and 18th of his reign. Being rather corpulent, his bowels were taken out, and buried at Croxton abbey, a house of monks of the order called Premonstratensis, in Staffordshire, the abbat of which was his physician, and who embalmed him; (2) his body, according to his desire, was interred (3) in this church, having on a monk's cowl, which was deemed in those days a good passport through purgatorial regions. (4) As I have in Sect. IV. p. 68, treated of the place of his interment, shall only observe at present that this tomb is a cenotaph. (5)

MONUMENTS IN THE GREAT CROSS ILE.

37. In the north transept of this ile, and against the east wall, where formerly stood the altar of the holy cross, is a most elegant and magnificent monument erected to the memory of that eminent and distinguished prelate Dr. John Hough, Bishop of this diocese. He is represented of the size of life, habited in his robes, which are disposed in a bold, free, and graceful manner, and seated in an easy dignified attitude, in a reclined posture, on a sarcophagus, which is formed of black marble, with yellow veins beautifully dis-

(1) Mr. Gough is of opinion that effigies on regal monuments may be considered as portraits. The tomb of King John is placed in the class of the thirteenth century, and according to Mr. Walpole, was the work of Cavallini, an Italian sculptor patronized by Edward I. The shrine of the Confessor and the crosses of Queen Eleonora are works of his hands. [Introduct. to Sepul. Mon. p. cxiv, cxv.]

(2) Hollingshed, p. 606. M. Paris, p. 288. (3) His desire is expressed in a clause of his last will. *Volo quodd corpus meum sepeliatur in ecclesia S. Mariæ et S. Wulstani de Wigorn.* [Dr. Thomas's Append. No. 33, p. 19, 20.] Agreeing with the prediction of Merlin, "that he should be placed among the saints,—et inter sanctos collocabitur." [Angl. Sac. P. I. p. 483: Annal. Wig. sub anno 1216.] To supply lights to burn about his tomb, the chapel of Grafton in this county was appropriated. [Willis's Abbies, vol. I. p. 303.]

(4) It was no uncommon practice for persons to desire to be clothed in the habit of a monk in the hour of their departure out of life; but from the avarice of the church this dress was an article of no small expence to their heirs. [Note in the Hist. and Antiq. of Rochester, p. 119.] The Empress Maude, daughter of Henry I. was buried in Bec abbey, where her corpse was found wrapt up in an ox's hide. [Ducarel, Angl. Norm. Antiq. p. 89. Hist. of Bec, p. 99.] The custom of depositing the dead with their feet to the east was practised by the Romanized Britons, and continued by the Saxons.

(5) Monumental memorials have frequently been raised for eminent persons who had been dead centuries before they were erected, and often times have been set up in several places for the same individual. This practice has served very much to perplex posterity, where the cenotaph has not been discriminated by the sculptor, nor the writer of the inscription, from the tomb in which the person was actually interred.

persed over its surface, his right elbow resting on some books, and his hands joined as in the act of devotion. The position of his head is inclined towards the left shoulder, and somewhat elevated: the countenance highly expressive of quick sense and religious hope, meek, yet animated; and if an image of the piety of his mind may be attempted to be drawn from that faithful index, it may be said that in the communion this revered patriarch of our religion seems to hold with his Maker (for he looks beyond this world) he appears to have newly "heard the voice from heaven, saying, blessed are the dead which die in the Lord," and gratefully to feel the comforting inference that "he should rest from his labour."

Beneath, to the right of the prelate, is the figure of Religion standing on the top of the base of the monument, having in her right hand the Bible open, which she supports against her hip; her left hand is employed in supporting a part of the drapery falling from the bishop, which, it appears would otherwise intercept her view, and also that of the spectator, of the basso-relievo on the face of the sarcophagus. The figure of Religion is here viewed profile, standing at due angle with the whole. The gentle stooping of her body, as if more minutely inspecting into the above story, is most happily expressed. The centre of gravity is seated in the right foot, supported by the stress of the left hand against the drapery, as before described: the left foot, touching only with the toes, is no sort of support to it. This attitude, though intricate, is amazingly easy; her aspect has the sweetness and complacency which should accompany pure religion; yet tempered here with the appearance of concern, as though she felt the removal of an advocate whom she had tried and approved.

The subject on the bas-relief represents the high commission court held in the hall of Magdalen college, Oxford, on Friday, Oct. 21st, 1687, before Cartwright, Bishop of Chester, Wright, chief Justice of the king's bench, and Jenner, one of the barons of the exchequer, as visitors appointed by James II. to remove Dr. Hough from the presidency of the college, to which he had been duly elected by the fellows, and confirmed by the Bishop of Winchester, appointed by the statutes of the foundation visitor of that college. (1) The composition is formed of two groups of figures most expres-

(1) The commissioners were attended by three troops of horse, for the shameless oppression of one of the most considerable seminaries in the university, and in open violation of every principle of justice. The consequence of this mock trial was, that Dr. Hough, as president, refusing to deliver up the keys

sively characteristic of their opposite interests in the scene. The first to the left consists of the three tools of tyranny already named, seated on the bench, imperious and overbearing, inflated with all the consequence and importance that could be derived from the impetus of their mission. The second represents Dr. Hough at the head of the fellows of his college, attired in their academic habits, making his defence. A lively writer has so well drawn his portrait in this hour of probation, that I shall here beg leave to copy it. "The figure of Hough is so extremely characteristic, and the countenance so perfectly expresses the sentiments with which his mind must have been impressed, that without knowing the particulars of the event which the sculpture records, every one may discern he is a man arraigned, whose consciousness of right makes him bold, but not insolent." (1) This group is judiciously connected with the first, by the introduction of a secretary seated at a table, minuting down the order of the proceedings, as directed by the principal commissioner, the Bishop of Chester. In a word, as an historical composition, this story is treated in the most correct and masterly manner. The characters are well discriminated, expressive, and just; the figures are critically understood, and as happily executed. The groups bear out with a well regulated effect, and the perspective is so scientifically adjusted, as that all the objects of the composition approach or recede from the eye, and hold their proportions and places in the most orderly and correct manner possible. The principal figures in this subject are about eight inches high.

Opposite the figure of Religion is seated a naked boy weeping, his left hand employed in rubbing his eyes. Love, bewailing the separation of a tender pair, is in this figure finely imaged. The right hand of the little

of his lodgings in the college, they broke them open by the hands of a smith; and he with twenty-six fellows were on the 10th of December expelled, and also rendered incapable of any ecclesiastical preferment, and such of them as were not in orders were made incapable of obtaining them; of which sentences all archbishops and bishops, &c. were directed to take notice. And on the 17th Jan. 1688, none of the thirty demies appearing upon the summons from the bishop of Oxford, fourteen of them resident in the university were expelled,* and the college forthwith received a new president and a new set of fellows, on the popish plan. It was of no avail that Dr. Hough had the laws on his side, when bigotry and power overbore and defied them. He was firm, however, in the contest; and thereby, when the laws were restored, he reaped honours without envy.

(1) Mrs. Morgan's Tour to Milford Haven, Letter lvii. p. 393.

* Proceedings against Magdalen College, 4to, 1688, p. 40. A MS. account of this trial is also in the Harl. Coll. No. 2505. Plut. XXVI. E. Mus. Brit.

genius supports an oval of black marble, on whose plane is a profile head of the bishop's lady, in demi relievo, with an inscription round it in gold letters. Beneath the subject, in basso relievo, is placed the arms of the see of Worcester, impaling those of his lordship. To use an animated expression, which the object may well excuse, the larger figures of this sculptured pile have an air of life, and seem to want nothing but the vital fluid, and the Almighty's breath; for mind and sentiment were certainly never elicited from marble with more forcible effect than is found in this admirable production of modern art. We cannot but commend the grateful spirit of the gentleman who chose so able an artist, to give to posterity a just sense of his lordship's worth. The memory of a Hough seemed to require the hand of a Roubillac, to embrace the wide extended honours of his name, to hold them forth to public veneration, and preserve the full benefit of his illustrious example to the present and future ages; an important duty, of which that accomplished artist has acquitted himself with infinite honour to his eminent talents.

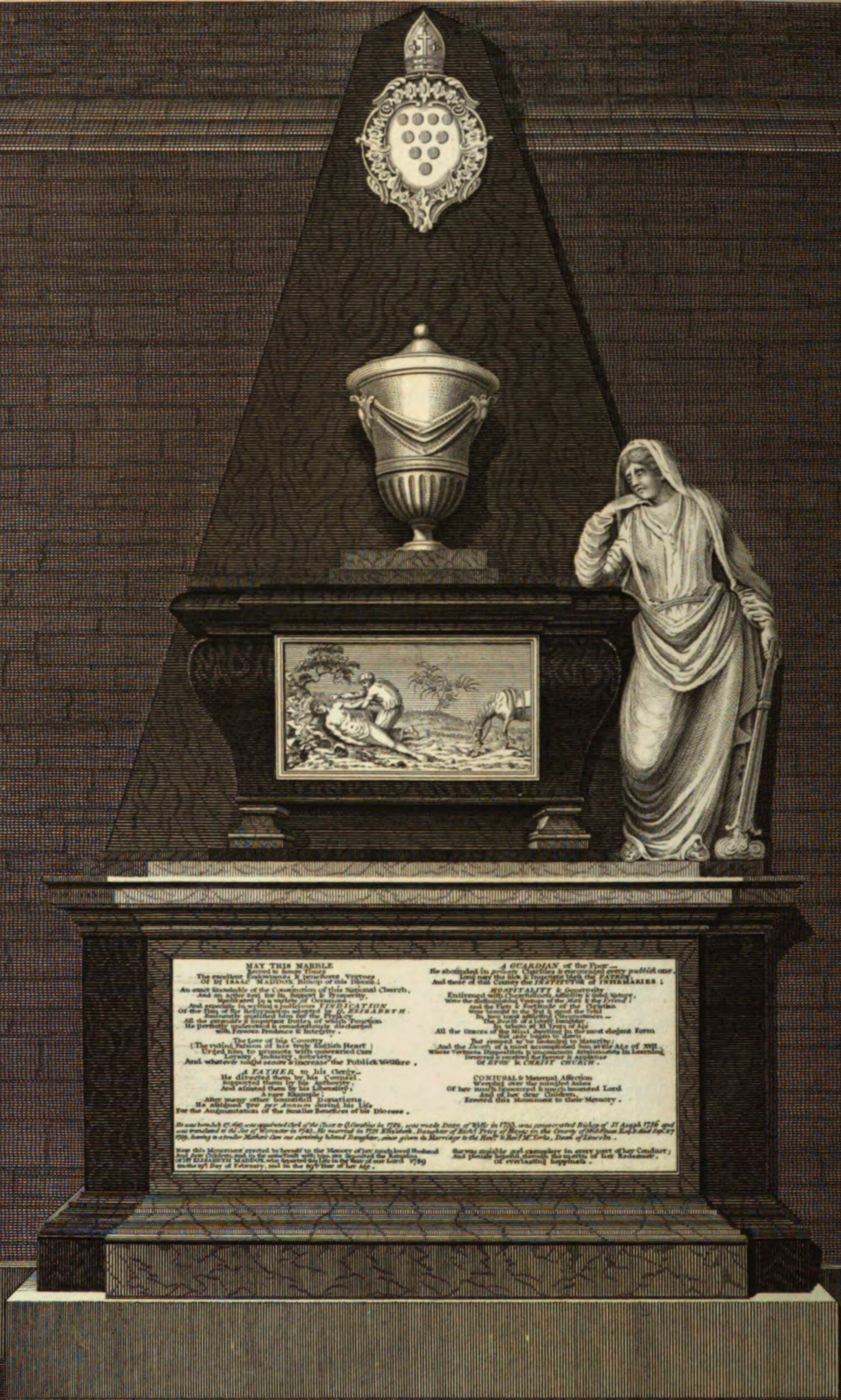
The whole is finished with a pyramid of fine grey marble as its ground, and the monument is happily fixed at a due distance from the north window of the great cross ile, so that the effect of the *claro obscuro* is thereby rendered very beautiful. Its height is about twenty-four feet. (1)

There are few great men, whose characters may be taken from their epitaphs. Impartial history too often gives the lie to sepulchral marbles. But it is not so with the memory of Bishop Hough. The English history has embalmed it. Satire, that is wont to be unsparing of mitres, has acknowledged his to shine unsullied. (2) But the poet and the historian give us only the idea of his public life. Of the private as well as public virtues of this excellent prelate, the record entered on his monument by the elegant pen of the late Dr. Tottie, Archdeacon of Worcester, and inserted on the annexed Plate, will form the most correct as well as the most concise account that can in this place be offered to the attention of the reader, as a faithful picture of the man. (3)

38. On the west wall, opposite to Bishop Hough's monument, is erected a very handsome monument of Sir Thomas Street, Knight. It is embellished with an urn, and his coat of arms. A boy is represented displaying the cap

(1) See the annexed Plate. (2) Mr. Pope. See his Works, vol. IV. p. 261.

(3) See the order of his funeral, in Appendix, No. XXXV. p. cxxxii.



Prince Heare Sculptor.

MONUMENT of BISHOP MADDOX
To the Honourable and Right Rev.
This Plate (Presented by his Lordship to
by his most Devoted and Obligated



London, Published by

in WORCESTER CATHEDRAL.

James Lord Bishop of Ely,
this Work) is most Respectfully Dedicated
humble Servant

Valentine Green.

V. Green March 4th 1793.

Drawn & Engraved by James Ryle.

of liberty. At the foot of the urn a book lies open, in which is written, "Articuli Magnæ Chartæ Libertatem:" to these enrichments are added the insignia of Justice. There is an air of elegant taste that prevails over the whole of this monument, strictly attaching to the character of the person it is meant to commemorate, and does great honour to the hand of Mr. Wilton. A coincidence somewhat remarkable is here to be noticed.—The monuments of two of the most decided characters in opposition to the measures of a prince hostile to the civil and religious rights of his people, to the most tyrannous degree, are here found in contact with each other. (1)

39. On the east wall of the south transept, where the altar of St. Simon and St. Jude was anciently placed, is the monument of Bishop Madox, corresponding in situation and dimensions with that of Bishop Hough; the scale on which this work has been executed, with an evident intention that it should form a pendant to that superb monument, evinces the liberality with which it was undertaken, as an honourable testimony of respect to the venerable prelate it commemorates, and a magnificent ornament to the church in which it is placed. (2)

40. Under the great window of this transept is a neat monument of Mrs. Henrietta Wrottesley, daughter of Sir Walter Wrottesley. She died 1719.

41. Beneath, to the right, on the same wall, is the monument of the late Bishop Johnson. A very excellent bust, esteemed a great likeness, and highly expressive of the *animus temperatus æqualibus*, which was always visible in his lordship's countenance, reflects great credit on the talents of Mr. Nollekins, as a sculptor. The inscription was written by Dr. Lloyd, under master of Westminster school. (3)

42. On the great north pillar that supports the tower is fixed a monument of Mr. John Dobbins, an eminent practitioner in the law. He died 1635.

43. Answerable to this, on the great south pillar, is a monument of Edward Archbold, an eminent civilian, Prebendary of Lincoln, who died 1617.

NORTH ILE.

44. Below the great north entrance, fixed to the wall under the second window, is a large monument of the family of the Moores, of this city; on

(1) See the account of the place of interment of Sir Thomas Street, in the Appendix to this Section, No. VIII. p. xxviii. See also Dr. Nash, in Appendix, vol. II. p. clvi. (2) See the annexed Plate; and Appendix, No. VIII. p. xxix, xxx. (3) See the annexed Plate.

which are the figures of three men in gowns, and three women by them kneeling, and praying: who, by the inscription, appear to be father and mother, son and wife, brother and sister. (1) The son was Thomas Moore, alderman of this city, who died A. D. 1633. He is represented in his alderman's gown, the last figure to the west.

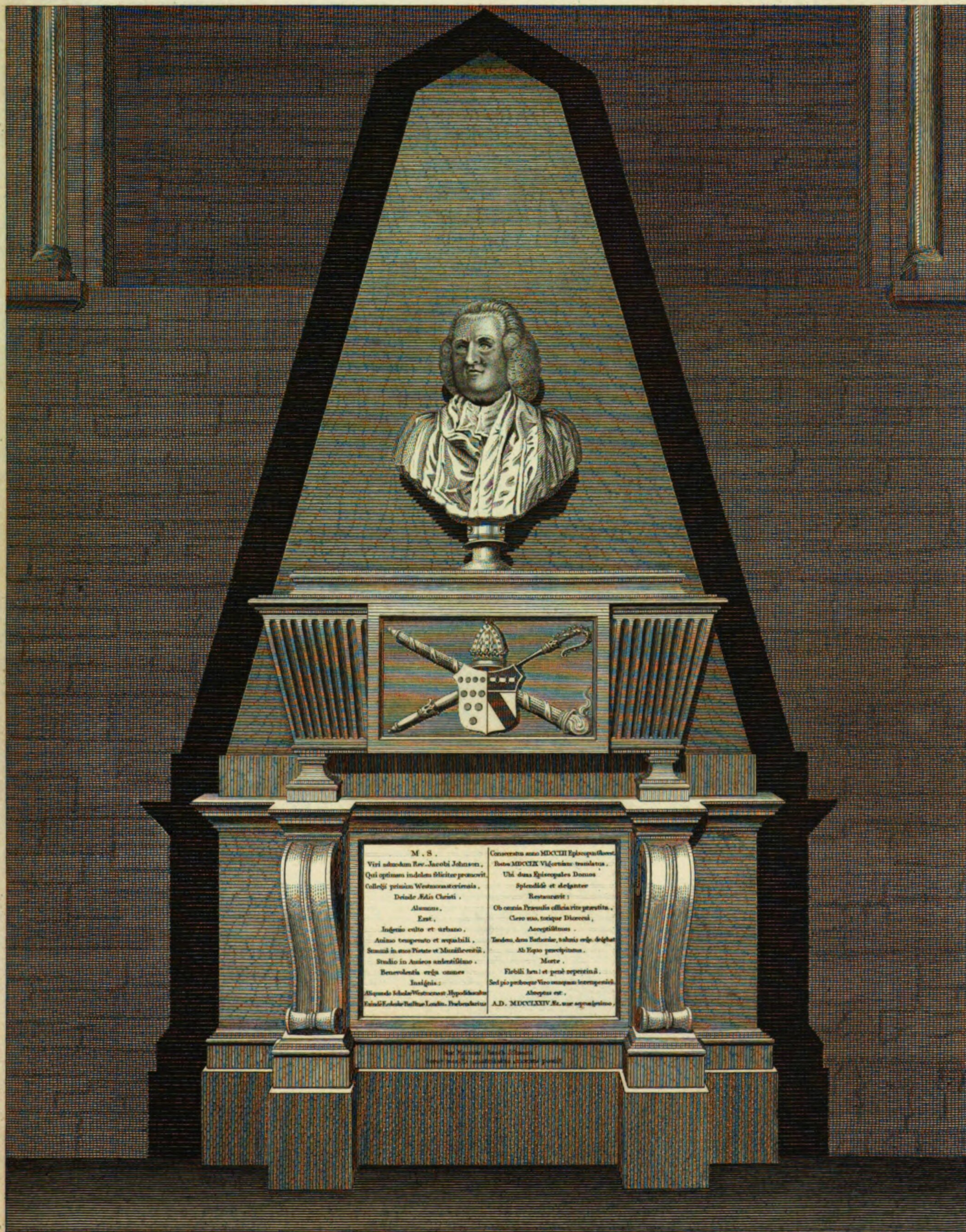
Near this is fixed a small stone in the wall, belonging to Mrs. Ann Moore of the same family, who died 1614.

MONUMENTS IN THE NAVE AND ITS SIDE ILES.

45. Between the third and fourth pillars from the belfry, on the north side of the nave, is the tomb of Sir John Beauchamp, of Holt, in this county; on which lies his effigy, in complete polished armour, with that of his lady, Joan, daughter and heiress of William le Fitzwith. His figure has on a pointed helmet with (originally) a corded facing, a gorget, on his surcoat gules, a fess or. Plated shoes, with large rowels to his spurs. A headless animal at his feet. Under his head an helmet, crowned, out of which issues a swan's head and neck, with the two wings. The lady's figure has on a loose mantle, her veil flowing back, a flowered surcoat, with close sleeves, buttoned to the wrist, the apron studded. Her head is rested on a swan, and supported by angels, whose heads with that of the swan are broken off. The head-dress is reticulated, with a fillet of flowers round it; the hair plaited behind, the rest flowing about her shoulders. The arms, on the panes of the tomb, are those of the Beauchamps, Earls of Warwick, and the Beauchamps, Barons of Powick; but according to Mr. Abingdon's Manuscript, the crest under his head (which is a swan issuing out of a helmet, the head now broken off,) points out the person here represented, to be John the son of Sir John Beauchamp of Holt. He received the honour of knighthood in Scotland, having signalized himself in the war with that nation, from the hand of Richard II. being then esquire of the body to that monarch, and was the only one of that family so distinguished. He was created Baron Beauchamp, of Kidderminster, by the same king, A. D. 1388, and was the first peer, according to Mr. Selden, who ever received the honour of an English barony by patent. (2) But he did not long enjoy his new honour;

(1) Dr. Thomas calls them three men and their wives; and immediately suffers the inscription to contradict him. See his Survey of this church, p. 102. 105. and an engraving of their monument, p. 104.

(2) 11 Rich. II. Dugd. Bar. I. p. 251. Selden's Titles of Honour, p. 147.



Robt. Adam Arch^t. Noltekens Sculptor.

Drawn & Engraved by James Rigs.

MONUMENT of BISHOP JOHNSON

in WORCESTER CATHEDRAL.

Toe M^{rs} Sarah Johnson,
to this Work) is most Respectfully
and Obligated



This Plate Presented by her
Dedicated by her most Devoted
humble Servant

Valentine Green.

London, Published by

V. Green July 29th 1793.

for the same year appearing in arms in London, with divers other lords, for treasonable purposes, he was attainted in parliament, and after confinement in Dover castle, was beheaded on Tower-hill, in the fifty-eighth year of his age. (1) This nobleman in his younger years having received a largess from the priory of Worcester, gratefully requited them when he became high steward of the king's household, by protecting them from the oppression of the king's officers. Before his death he gave his money and plate to the prior and monks of Worcester; but the king's serjeant at arms demanding it, the whole was conveyed to London. Mr. Abingdon, who saw the inventory, says it was very moderate. (2) The monks, however, being ancient friends to his family, received his body into their cathedral, in which it was interred, and this tomb erected over his grave. In him expired the ancient name of Beauchamp of Holt.

46. Opposite to those, between the third and fourth pillars from the belfry, answering to that of Sir John Beauchamp, is a fine raised tomb of Robert Wilde, Esq. and his lady, whose figures are cumbent thereon, clothed in gowns nearly alike, their hands uplifted, as in prayer. A lion is placed at their feet. At the head of the tomb, fixed to the pillar, is a handsome ornamented tablet with an inscription, over which is their arms. The pannels on the sides of the tomb have also arms upon them. Two other inscriptions are painted on the adjacent wall. Mr. Wilde died in 1607.

47. Opposite to this, on the pillar at the head of Wilde's tomb, is a small alabaster monument, in memory of Frances, daughter of John Bromley, Esq. wife of John Griffith, M. A. minor canon of this church. She died 1682.

48. On the south-west side is a small monument of Robert Ludington, Gent. factor of the Turkey company, and a great traveller. He died 1625.

49. On the north-west side of the same pillar is fixed a neat monument to the memory of Philip Fell, B.D. fellow of Eton college, Oxford. He died 1682.

(1) Walsingham, p. 365. Knighton, 2705. Sepul. Mon. p. 191. (2) Abing. MS.

Leland, in his account of some of the interments in this cathedral, says, "*In navis ecclesiæ.* Joannes Beauchampe, miles, de familia comitum Warwici, charus Edwardo 3. et Ricardo 2. tandem decollatus tempore Henrici 4. This Beauchampe was owner of Holt, a praty pile, a 3 myle by northe owt of Worcester, on Severne ripa dextra, a mile above Grimley. At this Holt Kynge Richard the 2. made at-
"torneaments." [Itin. vol. VIII. p. 128.]

See the engraving of the tomb in Dr. Thomas's Survey, p. 93; in which, in addition to the badness of the performance, the view of the figures is wholly reversed. The same blunder has been committed by the engraver in the prints of the tombs of the Countess of Surrey, Sir Griffyth Rice and his lady, and Robert Wilde, Esq. and his lady.

50. On the pillar below this, opposite the great north entrance of the church, is a monument fixed to the memory of Mrs. Cicel Warmstry, widow of William Warmstry, Esq. register of this diocese, as was intimated by a sepulchral stone beneath it, now gone. She died 1649. On this monument she is represented in a sculpture near two feet long, wrapt in her widow's veil, cumbent, with her head leaning on her right hand. The muscles of the body are admirably well expressed; the whole intimating the most piteous dejection, and emaciating grief. (1) On the top of the monument two figures are seated, weeping. Above that of the deceased are these words in Greek, taken from Rev. xiv. 13. "From henceforth blessed are the dead which die in the Lord."

51. In the centre of the two lowermost arches in the great middle ile, was a flat stone over the grave of Bishop Wakefield, who added those arches to the church. He died 1394-5. This stone was removed when the present pavement was laid down.

52. Under the first window, near the cloister door, is a handsome monument of Dr. William Thomas, Bishop of this diocese, who died 1689. (2)

53. On a white oval tablet, fixed on a grey marble slab, nearly square, as its ground, is the following very classical inscription, by Dr. Parr :



IACOBO · IOHNSTONE · IVN · M · D ·
 QUI · IN · HAC · VRBE · PER · IX · ANNOS
 ARTEM · MEDICAM · EXERCVIT
 ET · DVM · ÆGRIS · IN · CARCERE · INCLVSIS
 OPEM · FEREBAT
 FEBRIS · IBI · SÆVIENTIS · CONTAGIONE · CORREPTVS
 DECESSIT · XVII · KALEND · SEPT ·
 ANNO · CHRISTI · M · D · CC · LXXXIII ·
 ÆTAT · SVÆ · XXX ·
 IACOBVS · IOHNSTONE · M · D ·
 FIL · B · M · F · C ·

(1) Almost all the English cathedrals and conventual churches had one of these skeleton figures, but seldom more. In this, however, there were two. Besides this of Mrs. Warmstry, the monument of Mr. John Howton, removed from the great cross ile, had one leaning its head on its hand. Mr. Howton died 1608. [See Dr. Thomas's Survey, p. 91.] They are found as early as 1241. [Archæologia, vol. II. p. 300.] In the cathedral of Landaff is one of a woman. [Arch. vol. VI. p. 24.] Lincoln cathedral has one, with the figure of Bishop Fleming. Under the monument of Archbishop Chichester, in Canterbury cathedral, is one of that prelate in a shroud. [Willis's Cath. vol. VI. p. 6.] In rural and parochial churches they are also found. In the church of Westbury, in Gloucestershire, was one on the tomb of

54. Under the second window, beneath an arch in the wall, is an ancient tomb with a cumbent statue of a priest, vested for the altar, with a large tonsure, and at his feet a lion; supposed to have been a prior; and by others said to be the tomb of friar Baskerville. (3)

55. Above this, fixed to the wall, is a monument for Mr. Richard Inglethorp, who founded an hospital in this city for six poor men.

56. Under the third window, beneath an arch is a raised tomb, on which was a cumbent figure, long since gone. To whom it belonged is not known.

57. To the west of that monument is another, for Mrs. Octavia Walsh, who died 1706.

58. Above which, to the west, is a neat monument of Catharine the daughter of Sir Brian Palmes, of Linely, in Yorkshire. She died 1703.

59. Near this, under the fourth window, beneath an arch, is another tomb, void of arms and inscriptions. Whom it belongs to is unknown.

60. Opposite to Wilde's tomb, is erected a handsome monument of John Bromley, Esq. son of Sir Thomas Bromley, of Holt castle, knight. He died 1674.

61. Under the fifth window, within an arch of the wall, is a plain tomb over the renowned judge Littleton; a justice of the common pleas, in the reign of King Edward IV. On the verge of which is this inscription:

Hic jacet corpus Thomæ (4) Littleton de Frankly, Militis de Balneo, et unus Justiciariorum de Communi Banco, qui obiit 23 Augusti, An. Do. 1481.

On a brass plate on the top was a figure of a judge in his robes, and out of his mouth were issuing these words, *Fili Dei miserere mei*. This plate was torn away in the civil war.

62. Next to this, is a handsome monument of Sir Thomas Littleton, Knt. and Bart. and Catherine his lady. He died in February, 1649-50. The

John Carpenter, Bishop of Worcester, a native of that place. But the most remarkable of this kind that have come within my own observation were those of the kings of France in the abbey of St. Denis, near Paris, A. D. 1781. These were placed in the true point of view in which this kind of memento was intended to be most effective in its purpose. Above, the monarchs lie in all the splendour of regal magnificence on their tombs. Beneath, they remind us only of their mortality; and that "unaccommodated" kings are no more than such a poor, bare, forked animal," as there represented.

(2) For the place of his interment, see Appendix to this Section, No. VIII. p. xxvii. The inscription on the flat stone in the cloister being worn out, it is repeated in the continuation of Abingdon's Survey of this Cathedral, p. 60. See note. (b)

(3) Abing. MS.

(4) The students of common law are no less beholden to this great man for his Treatise of Tenures, than the civilians are to Justinian for his Institutes.

inscription on the monument refers to a black marble gravestone on the floor, which had also an inscription, now gone.

63. Under the sixth window, within an arch of the wall, is the tomb of Bishop Freake, with several inscriptions about it, and within the arch. On the side of the tomb are his arms impaled with those of the see. He died 1591.

64. On a marble tablet, fixed under the seventh (blank) window, is the following inscription. "Mrs. Susannah Warren, daughter of Richard Warren of Redcliffe, Somerset, Esq. died March 8th, 1792. To whose ever dear and honoured memory this memorial is erected, as a small, but unfeigned, testimony of the respect and esteem of her truly affectionate niece, D. Mill."

MONUMENTS IN THE NORTH CLOISTER.

65. At the east end, near the south entrance of the cathedral, on the stone bench, lies a cumbent statue of a priest, with a large tonsure, vested for the altar; his beard was bushy, a thing not usual in these latter days. In his right hand is a staff of authority, and in his left a book. It is said to be in memory of Alexander Neccham, (1) the famous abbat of Cirencestre, who died in the year 1217, (2) at the bishop's palace at Kemsey. (3)

66. At the west end, behind a supporter of the church wall, is a monument of Mary, wife of Henry Townshend, Esq. She died 1684.

67. On a neat mural monument of marble, placed under the north window, having on an urn the arms of the deceased, is the following inscription. "To the memory of the honourable and reverend St. Andrew St. John, D. D. (second son of John, tenth Lord St. John of Blotsoe) Dean of this cathedral, who died 23d March, 1795, aged 64. This monument, the last mark of filial duty and affection, was erected by his son, A. S." (4)

68. On the west wall of this transept, is a handsome marble monument

(1) The reader may from hence correct an error in the ichnography of this church, made by Mr. Dougharty, for Dr. Thomas's Survey, who, in the references, erroneously assigns this tomb to Mrs. Barton; whereas she lies beneath a flat stone nearer the corner. Compare the plate, reference 65, with Dr. Thomas's description, p. 124.

(2) Annal. Wig.

(3) This figure is so much defaced at this time as to render those particulars of it which Mr. Abingdon has described, extremely difficult to be distinguished. [See his Survey of this Cathedral, p. 37.]

(4) For the place of his interment, see the Appendix to this Section, No. VIII. p. xxv.

of Mrs. Hall, (1) formed of a pyramid arising from a base supported by brackets. The enrichments are composed of a figure of Religion seated in a reclined posture, leaning against an urn, and holding a book in her right hand, which is rested upon her knee: the following is the inscription on the tablet. "Sacred to the memory of Mary, the truly regretted wife of William Hall, Esq. of the island of Jamaica, and of Bevere near this city. On the 11th of April, 1794, in the 45th year of her age, she was suddenly taken from this world to a life of eternal happiness. Her family most sensibly feel the loss of one of the best of wives, and tenderest of mothers: and the many virtues she possessed make her justly lamented by all her acquaintance." This monument is the production of Mr. William Stephens, a native of this city, in which he is resident.

SECT. VIII.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE BISHOPS OF WORCESTER, FROM THE FOUNDATION OF THE SEE TO THE PRESENT TIME.

UPON the confirmation of the partition of the general diocese of the kingdom of Mercia into five sees, at the synod held at Hedtfield, A. D. 680, (2) the first bishop nominated to the province of Wiccia, or see of Worcester was

TATFRITH, or Tadfrid, A. D. 680, who was a monk in Hilda's (3) famous monastery at Streaneshalh, now called Whitby, in Yorkshire, which at that time was the greatest school of learning in all the North. This Tatfrith was taken away by untimely death, before he could be consecrated: and in his place was elected, (4)

(1) She lies buried in the middle ile of the Lady's chapel. See Appendix to this Section, No. VIII. p. xxv.

(2) Spelm. Conc. Tom. I. p. 169. See also Dugd. Mon. Angl. vol. I. p. 120. Le Neve, fol. 294. and Dr. Thomas's Account of the Bishops of Worcester, p. 3, 4, 5, 6.

(3) In a synod held A. D. 664, in that monastery, of which she was the foundress and first abbess, she opposed the tonsure of the priests, and the celebration of Easter according to the Roman ritual. [Camden, vol. III. p. 18, in N. R. Yorkshire.]

(4) Bede Eccl Hist, l. 4. c. 23.

BOSEL A. D. 680, bred in the same school. He was consecrated by Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury: sat in this see eleven years: when growing incapable, through extreme infirmities, to continue his functions, he resigned it, A. D. 691, and was by the command of King Ethelred succeeded by

OFTFOR, alias Ostfor, A. D. 691, bred also at Hilda's monastery, and improved by a journey to Rome. He was ordained by Wilfride, Archbishop of York, Theodore Archbishop of Canterbury being at that time dead, and no other metropolitan appointed in his room. (1) He sat in this see not a full year before he died; and was succeeded by

EGWINE, A. D. 692, to whom the monkish historians have given the title of saint. He was not consecrated till the year after his election. In the year 708, he went to Rome with King Coenred, and Offa, King of the East Saxons. At this time Egwine obtained from Pope Constantine, *epistolam privilegii*, or a charter of confirmation of his newly-founded monastery of Evesham; (2) which, with king Æthelred's leave, he began to build in or about the year 702; and on his return to England, finished. (3) Soon after, resigning the bishopric of Worcester, he became the first abbat of Evesham, and died there, 30 December, 717. (4) Brithwald, not the archbishop, but some other monk of that name, wrote his life.

WILFRED, A. D. 710, who was coadjutor to St. Egwine, after his retiring to his monastery at Evesham, succeeded him upon his death, and sat in this see till about the year 743, when he died, and was succeeded by

MILDRED, or Milred, A. D. 743. He was one of the eleven suffragan bishops who attended the Archbishop of Canterbury at the council of Cloveshoe in 747, in which the English clergy asserted their own right, and disclaimed dependence on any foreign bishop. (5) In his time king Ethelbald freed all churches and monasteries of his kingdom (Mercia), from

(1) Abing. MS. and Peck's Annals of Stamford, p. 37.

(2) Of this once stately abbey scarce any remains are to be seen. The tower is preserved; but this was erected by one of the latest abbats, in the reign of Henry VIII. And there is an ancient ruin which seems to have been the east entrance to the abbey. It is a strong portal, whose arch is ornamented with the figures of bishops or abbats, whose heads are gone. See Tindal's Hist. of Evesham Abbey, p. 40, 133.

(3) The monkish story of this foundation is given in Fuller, p. 96; in Spelman's Councils, p. 210, and at large in Tindal's History and Antiquities of Evesham Abbey, ch. i. p. 2, and ch. ii. p. 8.

(4) Flor. Wig.

(5) Council Brit. vol. I.

paying any taxes, except to the building of forts and bridges. (1) This bishop died 775, (2) and was succeeded by

WEREMUND, A. D. 775, who sat but three years, and died in 778; succeeded by

TILHERE, A. D. 778, abbat of Berkley, who was consecrated in 779. This bishop in 780 made a great feast for King Offa at Fladbury, where, among other gifts, the king presented to the church of Worcester a very choice Bible, with two clasps of pure gold. (3) He died in the beginning of the year 781, and was succeeded by

EATHORED, A. D. 782. He presided in this see seventeen years. He died 798, and was succeeded by

DENEBERT, who was at the famous synod of Clovesho, in the year 803, in the reign of Cenwulf, King of the Mercians; where Litchfield was declared no longer an archbishopric, and Canterbury was restored to its ancient rights. (4) He was also at the council of Celchyth, 816, where Cenwulf presided with Archbishop Wulfred, and where, amongst other things, it was ordained, that no bishop, abbat, or abbess, should grant away any of their lands without consent of their families, or for more than one life: and that, for the future, the year of our Lord should be put to their deeds, as well as their names subscribed. Denebert, after having sat in this see twenty four years, died in the year 822; and was succeeded by

EADBERT, or Heabert, who was consecrated by Wilfred, Archbishop of Canterbury, to whom he swore canonical obedience. (5) He died in the year 848; and was succeeded by

ALHUNE. This bishop, anno 868, the year in which peace was concluded at Nottingham between the Mercians and the Danes, built an oratory, or chapel at Kemsey, and dedicated it to St. Andrew. He died in 872; succeeded by one of the priests, trained up in the college at Worcester,

WEREFRID, who was consecrated by Ætheldred, Archbishop of Canterbury, on Whitsunday, in the next year. (6) King Ceolwulf, at the request of Werefrid, in 875, exempted the parochia, or diocese of the Wiccians, from providing food for the king's horses and their leaders. (7) When the Danes over-ran Mercia, making every where most horrid devastation, this

(1) Spelm. Conc. sub A. 749.

(2) Flor. et Annal. Wig.

(3) Hem. Chart. p. 95.

(4) Fuller, p. 107, 108. Records of Cant. Spelm. Conc. p. 325.

(5) Flor. and Alford Annal.

(6) R. Hoveden.

(7) Hem. Chart.

bishop fled to France. About the year 885 King Alfred recalled him, and placed him among the first class of the learned, whom he had invited to his court. At the request of this king, he translated, out of Latin into Saxon, the pastoral of St. Gregory; which the king published, with a preface of his own, and sent to every bishop's see in his kingdom a copy of it, with an æstell, or style, worth fifty marks, and with an injunction, that it should not be taken away from the book, nor the book from the church. (1) Many of the clergy were at this time so unqualified in their learning, as not to understand the breviary, which they were obliged daily to recite: some of them could scarcely read it, nor could many of them subscribe the canons of those councils in which they sat as members. (2) This bishop died, 915, having sat in this see forty-two years; and was succeeded by

ÆTHELHUN, abbat of Berkley. He sat about seven years, during the troublesome times of the Danish depredations; and dying in 922, was succeeded by

WILFRITH, (3) or Wilferth, whose successor was

KINEWOLD. He was sent by King Æthelstan, with a present to the monasteries of Germany. He arrived at St. Gall, Oct. 15, and on the second day after, being the feast of St. Gall, he entered the church with an offering of money, part of which he laid on the altar, and gave the remainder to the use of the brethren. He died 957. The Benedictines lay claim to him as a monk of their order, he was succeeded by the famous

DUNSTAN, abbat of Glastonbury, whom the monks honoured with the name of Saint, because he was their champion against the secular clergy. In his own abbey he set the first example of expelling the old society, and introducing monks of the Benedictine rule in their stead. He had a great ascendant at court in the reign of Edred, whom he governed as a child. But his successor King Edwy, would not be tyrannized over by this haughty abbat; he took Elgiva to wife in spite of his invectives; and banished Dunstan for his barbarities, which were monstrous, to that princess. Dunstan passed not many months in exile, before Edwy, by the revolt of the Northumbrians and Mercians, lost half his kingdom. Edgar was set up king of the revolting provinces; and Dunstan was recalled from banishment, and placed in this see, then vacant by the death of Kinewold; and the year following

(1) Asserius, Vit. Ælfred. Spelm. Alford An.

(2) Robertson's Hist. Cha. V. vol. I. p. 21, 22. And note K, p. 278.

(3) Abing. MS.

he had the accession of the see of London. Both these he held in conjunction about a twelvemonth; when Edgar, then become master of the whole kingdom, translated him to the see of Canterbury; (1) and set over this church the celebrated.

OSWALD, who was of Danish extraction, and nearly allied to Odo, predecessor of Dunstan in the archbishopric of Canterbury, being his brother's son. In his younger years he was one of the secular canons of Winchester, and afterwards dean of the minster there. About the year 952, by the persuasion of his uncle, who himself, when archbishop, had submitted to receive the monastic habit from Fleury on the river Loire, he resigned his preferment at Winchester, and took the vow of Benedict's rule, in that famous French abbey; where he continued, till he was ordered into England by Odo in his last illness. Odo was dead before he arrived; but the credit of the monks was now high. Dunstan, who already governed Edgar's half of the kingdom (Edgar himself being young), had formed the plan for bringing these religieux from their deserts into cities, and enriching them with the endowments of secular colleges. Finding in Oswald both abilities and zeal, he made him his confident, and advanced him to the see of Worcester. His success in converting the priests of his cathedral, and forming their college into a monastery, by the union of it with St. Mary's convent, has been spoken of already. Secular clerks had got possession of the abbey of Evesham; but Oswald restored it to the monks; whom he also replaced at Winchcumb and Derehurst, in Gloucestershire. He reformed the convent at Pershore, which before was collegiate, by settling monks on that

(1) Dunstan was a man of great ingenuity, and excelled in painting, engraving, and music. He was an excellent workman also in brass and iron; and according to the monkish accounts, it was when employed at his forge, that the devil had the ill luck to visit him in a female form, for which he got pulled by the nose with a pair of red-hot tongs till he roared out for mercy. In Goldsmith's hall, London, there is a painting on canvas of St. Dunstan with his unfortunate devil, over whom the heavenly host are exulting, to see him in the power of the saint. Mr. Pennant remarks on this picture, that "it would seem Dunstan was conversant in works of gold as well as of iron, and in a place where the *irritamenta malorum* so much abounded, it was not strange to find the devil at hand."* There is more foundation for the truth of this remark, than might have been known to the learned gentleman who made it. In the British Museum is a MS. Tract by Bishop Dunstan, written in 25 duodecimo pages, on the philosopher's stone. The work is entitled, "The Entrance into the King's Palace." On the back "Tracts on Alchymy, No. 3757." Plut. XVII. A. Harl. Coll. This however can only be considered as a transcript left imperfect. The end has this incorrect note, viz. "St. Dunstan lived and was Archbishop of Canterbury in the reign of King Edgar, in the year 1017."

* Pennant's London, 2 Ed. p. 215—389.

foundation. He was a benefactor to the abbey of Ramsey, in Huntingdonshire, which Earl Ailwin founded in 968. Oswald himself may be esteemed (with King Edgar's assistance) the founder of Westbury, in Gloucestershire; which had, indeed, been an ancient monastery, but had long been impropriated and annexed to the lands of the cathedral of Worcester. These reformatiions endeared him to Dunstan, and gained him great favour with Edgar, who granted at his request considerable privileges to the manors possessed by the bishop and church of Worcester, uniting them all (viz. 300 hides of land, (1) and for the most part lying contiguous) in one hundred, whose court was appointed to be held under the bishop, at a place about four miles to the east of Worcester, called, in memory of the bishop, Oswaldes Lawe, (2) or Oswald's mount. This was creating a small palatinate in the county, exempt from all jurisdiction of the civil magistrate. Out of these three hundred hides of land, Oswald granted away no less than one hundred and ninety to his friends, relations, thanes, artificers, and servants, generally for three lives, and with slight services reserved. In 971 the archiepiscopal see of York became a second time vacant in the same year, Oskittel lately deceased, and Athelwold who abdicated, made room for Oswald, who was raised to that dignity, but held his bishopric in commendam with it, and spent most of his time at Worcester. He died suddenly there, on Monday, Feb. 28th, in the year 992, having sat 32 years in the Wiccian see, and near 20 in that of York, of which he was the 19th archbishop. He was buried in his cathedral which he had built at Worcester. (3) He invited learned men from abroad to settle in the monasteries that he favoured. His meekness and most exemplary piety, above all his zeal for the monastic rule, and the miracles ascribed to his relics, have raised

(1) It is a common mistake, that King Edgar gave these three hundred hides to the see and monastery of Worcester. Dr. Thomas, who must have known otherwise, having filled many pages with accounts of the original donors of these lands, seems yet, in p. 48, of his account of the bishops, to slide into this error. These villages and farms were, partly impropriations out of the estates of old abbies, suppressed long before Edgar's time, and partly the free grants of various kings of Mercia, and other Saxon princes, for the emolument of their souls. A meadow beyond the Severn appears to be all the land given by Edgar to the church of Worcester; and yet the monks of it had reason to call him their founder.

(2) Considerable antiquaries have mistaken the situation of this place; which was not between Spetchley and Worcester, but between Spetchley and Wolverton, and near the boundaries of the last-mentioned village. [Hemingus, Chartul. p. 359.] The most part of what is now called the hundred of Worcester was anciently included in that of Oswald's Law.

(3) Le Neve's Fasti. Godwin, p. 435, 568. Isaacson ex Malmsb.

him into the rank of monkish saints. A solemn day is accordingly appointed in commemoration of him in the English calendar, viz. Oct. 10th. (1)

ADULF, Abbat of Peterburgh, succeeded him in both his sees. This prelate obtained the abbey of Evesham of Ethelred, brother of Edward the Martyr, and deprived it of its liberties; besides which its possessions were much wasted and embezzled, every one depriving it of something. (2)

This prelate, April 15, 1002, in the 24th year of King Ethelred's reign, attended by a great assembly of bishops, abbats, priests, and monks, translated the bones of St. Oswald from his tomb to a shrine which he had prepared for it; (3) and died himself on the 6th day of May, anno 1002, and was buried in the cathedral of St. Mary. (4) He was succeeded in the archbishopric of York, and in the see of Worcester, by

WOLSTAN, nick-named the Reprobate. The cause for this ignominious name is not certainly known: (5) for little can be gathered from that rhyming verse in the register of the priory:—*nam nimis erravit dum rebus nos spoliavit; i. e.* “for too much he erred, when he spoiled us of our possessions.” If the meaning be, that he granted the church lands to favourites upon military service, Oswald and Adulf, his predecessors, were guilty of the same abuse of power; but they being monks and saints, the imputation of injustice fell on Wolstan alone. But though he stands in the monkish list of reprobates, we have no reason to think worse of him, than of many of their saints. According to Mr. Tanner (Pref. Not. Mon. p. vi.) there was no distinction between the lands of the bishop and the lands of the priory, in any cathedral convent before the Norman conquest. The bishop's reeve or bailiff received all the profits of the estates belonging to the church, and allowed to the monks, out of its revenue, for their sustenance and clothing, what the bishop thought necessary, but what the monks perhaps might not think sufficient. Hence clamour and obloquy might naturally arise, especially at Worcester, whose monks had some estates originally belonging to their church (St. Mary's) before it was made a cathedral. The year in which Wolstan be-

(1) Vita ejus, en les Vies des Saints, par Baillet. Drake's Ebor. p. 410. See also Oswald's Life by Eadmer, in Angl. Sac. (2) Grose's Antiq. vol. IV. in Worcestershire. (3) Flor. Wig. (4) Annal. Wig.

(5) The reason conjecturally assigned by Mr. Wharton, in Anglia Sacr. I. p. 473, for this reproachful epithet is by no means satisfactory. For no contentions about the proper possessions of each see could easily arise, while one person possessed both Worcester and York. When they were separated in 1062, a contest did arise; and ended in the restoration of some manors to Worcester church, which Archbishop Aldred had detained.

came Bishop of Worcester is memorable for the Danish massacre which took place by the order of King Ethelred on the 13th of September. To purchase peace at the hands of those barbarians, whom Swein their king brought with him to revenge the deaths of their countrymen, almost all the plate and ornaments of this church, the tables of its altars, both of gold and silver, the clasps of their books, their chalices and crucifixes were melted down, and their lands heavily taxed to raise their share of the second tribute levied by the Danes in 1012. (1) Nor did they suffer less under the oppressions of his son Cnut.

This bishop died at York on the 28th of May, 1023, (2) and was carried to Ely to be interred. (3) At his death the sees of York and Worcester were divided. (4) He was succeeded in that of York by Alfrick Puttoe, provost of Winchester, (who also would have held this of Worcester in commendam, as his predecessors had done, but the Wiccians would not accept of him) and in the see of Worcester by

LEOFFIUS, or Leoferth, abbat of Thorney. He sat therein ten years and three months, dying on the 19th of August, 1033, at his manor house at Kempsey, and was buried in his cathedral at Worcester : in which see he was succeeded by

BRIHTEGUS, or Brihteage, abbat of Pershore ; he was born in Berkshire. About this time many parish and rural churches began to be erected ; the few that were in being when the Danes came into England having been destroyed by them. King Canute (the Danish usurper of the English throne), on his return from visiting the sepulchres of St. Peter and St. Paul at Rome, a pilgrimage that he took as an expiation of his guilt in the depredations he had committed, sent this bishop with his daughter Gunnilda into Germany, to give her in marriage to the Emperor Conrad, by some said to his son Henry. He died the 20th of December, 1038. (5) Upon his death Harold, surnamed Harefoot, then King of England, gave this bishopric to

LIVINGUS, a nephew of Brithwold, Bishop of St. German, in Cornwall. He was first a monk of Winchester, then abbat of Tavistock ; and as such

(1) Hem. Chart. p. 248. Dr. Thomas's Account of the Bishops of Worcester, p. 58. (2) Flor. Wig.

(3) Where, Mr. Williss says, is yet a painted representation of him against the wall in the north transept of the choir, under the lanthorn.

(4) His predecessors, St. Dunstan, St. Oswald, and Bishop Adulf, share with him the reproach of holding, the first the bishoprics of Worcester and London, and the two others York and Worcester, as an excess of church power. [Fuller, p. 130.]

(5) Flor. Wig.

acompanied King Canute to Rome, who, on his return, made him Bishop of Crediton, or Kirton, in Devonshire, an. 1032 : (1) and, on the death of his uncle, had the bishopric of St. German given him. When promoted to this see, he held all in commendam with Worcester, contrary to the canons. For which Malmsbury asperses him as an ambitious, arrogant, wanton trampler on ecclesiastical laws, studying nothing more than the gratification of his own will. In the year 1040, upon Hardicnute's coming to the crown, he was accused to him as accessory to the death of Alfred, King Ethelred's eldest son, for which the king divested him of his sees, and gave the care of this to Alfrick, Archbishop of York : but, on paying the king a large fine, they were again restored to him. (2) He, with Earl Godwin, was the chief instrument in raising Edward the Confessor to the throne of his ancestors. This Livingus, Bishop of Wiccia, Devonshire, and Cornwall, died March 23, 1046, and was buried at Tavistock, to which monastery he had been a great benefactor. He was succeeded in this see by

ALDRED, or Ealdred, first a monk of Winchester, and afterwards Abbat of Tavistock. In 1049, Griffin, King of South Wales, joining with the force of thirty-six sail of Irish pirates, burnt the town of Dymenham, near the river Wye; Aldred, Bishop of Worcester, at the head of the men of Gloucester and Worcestershire, attacked the pirates, but were repulsed by the Welch, and put to flight. (3) In 1055, he was sent by the king to the emperor's court, to negotiate the return of Prince Edward from Hungary. In 1056, he was preferred to the bishopric of Hereford, which he held with this till the latter end of 1060. In 1058, he dedicated the abbey church of Gloucester, which he had rebuilt from the ground, something distant from the place where it first stood, and more to the outside of the town, (4) and with the permission of King Edward the Confessor, constituted Wilstan, a monk of the church of Worcester, to be its abbat. (5) In 1060, he was promoted to the archbishopric of York, and resigned the see of Hereford, with an

(1) Goodwin Alf. An. sub Anno. W. Malm. p. 145. (2) Whilst Alfrick held this see during the deprivation of Livingus, the citizens of Worcester refusing to pay the tax called the Danegeld, imposed on the kingdom by Hardicnute, in 1041, in revenge for their disobedience, and for the loss of the lives of two of the Housecarles, sent to gather it, the city was given up to fire and plunder for five days, and the inhabitants forced to abandon it, to preserve their lives. Alfrick is said to have instigated Hardicnute to this severity, because the citizens had refused to choose him for their bishop. [W. Malmsb. lib. iii. Hollingshed, p. 276.] (3) Lambarde, p. 100. (4) Dugdale's Monast. Angl. vol. I. p. 994.—Epit. p. 118. (5) Leland, vol. VIII. p. 64. An. Wig. Flor. Wig.

intent to hold this of Worcester in commendam with York. (1) But on his going to Rome to receive his archiepiscopal pall, in company with Walter Bishop elect of Hereford, Giso, the elect of Wells, and Tosti, Earl of Northumberland, in 1061, at a synod called there against clerks guilty of simony, by his own confession being found guilty, he was, by Pope Nicholas, divested of all his honours. Aldred, under this disgrace, in company with the others, was returning to England, but fortunately for him, falling into the hands of robbers, who stripped them of all but their clothes, they were through necessity obliged to return to Rome; where, by the remonstrances of Earl Tosti, and others, the pope was persuaded to let him have the archbishopric and his pall; which he granted, on condition that he should resign the see of Worcester. (2) But, on his return, before he quitted it, he is said to have persuaded King Edward to subject it to the see of York. (3) During the prelacy of Aldred, Urso d'Abitot, sheriff of the county, built a castle on the south side of the cathedral, which encroached too much on the sanctuary of the monks. Aldred, to whom complaint was made as protector of the bishopric, remonstrated with Urso on his trespass, but without effect. (4) Aldred died the 11th of September, 1069, and was buried at York. Mr. Willis rather supposes him buried in his own church at Gloucester, where he says is a monument for him. (5) On his resignation of this see, he was herein succeeded by

WOLSTAN, or Wulstan II. surnamed the Saint; born at Long Ichington, in Warwickshire. His father's name was *Ælfstan*, and his mother's name *Ulgeva*, from whence he had his own name, *Wulstan*, compounded of both theirs. They separated by consent; the husband putting on the religious habit in the monastery at Worcester, and the wife took the veil in the religious house in the same city. (6) He took the habit and order of a monk

(1) Flor. Wig. (2) Malms. p. 154. Bromton, p. 952. Collier's Eccl. Hist. vol. I. p. 224.

(3) The only proof of this is a charter of privilege to Aldred, dated Dec. 31, 1062, anno 21 Edwardi R. inserted by Dr. Thomas in his Append. p. 1. This charter, if genuine, was dated above three months after Wulstan's consecration. But it is evidently spurious. It alleges the example of Pope Formosus, who, in Oswald's time, when Oswald sued to him at Rome for the pall, had made the see of Worcester subordinate and vicarious to that of York. It complains, that Formosus's bull had perished in the conflagration of York minster, during the invasion of the Danes. The ignorant monk, who forged this instrument, did not know that Pope Formosus had been dead more than seventy-six years before Oswald was archbishop. Nay, he blunders in his mention of the English king, who conferred on Oswald the archiepiscopal see.

York Cathedral.

(4) W. Malms. p. 154.

(5) See vol. I. p. 637, Cath. and his Survey of

(6) Dugdale, p. 230.

of this church from Bishop Brihteage, by whom he was also ordained both deacon and priest. (1) His first preferment was that of being master and guardian of the children; next chanter; then cyrcward, or keeper of the church treasure: at length prior, by the favour of Bishop Aldred; on whose advancement to the see of York, he was, by the general consent of the clergy and laity, chosen to succeed him. (2) He was accordingly consecrated at York by Archbishop Aldred, on the 8th of September, 1062, in the 21st year of the reign of Edward the Confessor. Notwithstanding he was consecrated by the Archbishop of York, he swore canonical obedience to the see of Canterbury. (3) He was present at the dedication of St. Peter's church at Westminster, built and endowed by King Edward the Confessor. He, with Aldred, Archbishop of York, and many other nobles, after William the Conqueror had gained the battle of Hastings, submitted themselves to him, and attended on his coronation, the Christmas day following. Wulstan, in common with other bishops, soon witnessed the protection the Conqueror gave to the church; who, in 1069, being informed that several persons had lodged their money and plate in the monasteries, thence took occasion, under pretence that it belonged to his enemies, to order a general search of the religious houses, and carried off immense spoils, not sparing even the shrines of the saints, nor the consecrated vessels of their altars. (4) From the church of Worcester, as appears by a Saxon note in Heming's Chartulary, p. 393, the following articles were taken, viz. "From off the *Æscene* or *brygile* buc x pounds, off xv roods vi marks, and "off their crucifixes and chalices xi marks, off the long shrine viii pounds, "and off the three horns (5) iii marks, and off the candlesticks x pounds,

(1) Floren. Wigorn.

(2) Heming, p. 404.

(3) Sim. Dunelm, p. 190, 191.

The reason why he was consecrated by Aldred, and not by Stigand, Archbishop of Canterbury, Florence tells us, was, because Stigand was at that time under suspension.

(4) Chr. Brompton, p. 967. l. 46. Rad. de diceto, 482. l. 41. Sim. Dunelm, p. 199. Dr. Thomas, Acc. of the Bishops of Worcester, p. 77.

(5) These horns were doubtless of that sort by which lands and possessions of various kinds were held by the church, the grants of former kings and other benefactors, as charters or instruments of conveyance. Of their history as such, a very entertaining and curious account is furnished in the third volume of Archæologia. They are described to be of four sorts; drinking horns, hunting horns, horns for summoning the people, and others of a mixed kind. The mountings and embellishments of these were often very costly, in gold and silver. The belts, feet, tips, and operculums, or covers, were richly ornamented, and curiously engraved. See the vol. cited, from p. 1, to p. 29, in which engravings of six of those charter horns, with their respective garnishings, are introduced.

“and off the *Hæcce* xxxiii marks; to which was added xl marks, and vi “half marks of gold.” (1) In 1084, he began building the present cathedral. Three years afterwards, he, with Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury, crowned William Rufus at Westminster, (2) and in 1088 opened his new cathedral, which was finished. In the year 1092, he held a synod here; the acts of which are as follows:

“I Wulstan, by the grace of God, Bishop of Wigorne, decreed to hold a synod in the monastery of St. Mary, in the vaulted iles, (3) (or chapels) which I have built from the ground, and by the mercy of God have dedicated. This synod was held in the year 1092, indiction 15. Invited to this synod, came all the wisest men from the three shires in our diocese, Wigracestre, Gloucestre, and Warwicce. Forasmuch as being full of days, sensible of the weakness of my body, and knowing the end of my life to draw near, I desired canonically to treat of the ecclesiastical affairs committed to our charge, and by their wise council to correct and amend whatever is to be amended. Wherefore our humility presiding in this synod, there arose a question between two presbyters, Alfnoth, priest of St. Helen’s, and Alam, priest of St. Alban’s, concerning the parishes and the customs of their churches. The controversy of those priests detained the synod a long time: I, desiring canonically to determine the same, commanded the old men, and those who were best acquainted with the antiquities of the churches or parishes of Wigracestre, to declare the truth concerning the institutions and parishes, not only of the two forementioned churches, but of all the churches in the said city. And because the monks in the midst of these disputes asserted, that they should suffer loss of their rents, justly due to them from the church of St. Helen’s, by reason of the long discord

(1) A transcript of this note is in the Cotton library, Plut. 464—35—V. B. Mus. Brit. This spoil must have been made in the ancient church of St. Peter. St. Oswald’s cathedral, which had been destroyed by the Danes in 1041, was in ruins; and the present cathedral was not begun building till fifteen years after this event, viz. 1084.

(2) Fuller, Cent. xi. p. 10.

(3) “In cryptis quas ego a fundamentis edificavi.” Such is the reading in Wharton’s, Hearne’s, and Wilkins’s edition of the acts of this synod. So that there is no pretence of inferring hence, as some do, that this minster was anciently entitled, S. Mariæ in Cryptis; unless the reading in this charter had been, quod ego, &c. When vaulted iles were first introduced, the monks called them in Latin, criptæ. Hence we read of the consecration of several altars in the crypts of the abbey church of Evesham; particularly St. Mary’s altar, which was daily served with incense, and had no less than twenty-four wax candles lighted on it at mass time every day, was in one of the crypts of that church; not surely in a subterraneous vault, but in one of the side iles. [Stevens’s Monast. Append. p. 141, 146.]

between the two priests, I commanded, that together with the institutions of the other churches, they would also give an account of the rights of this the mother church. To make this scrutiny, by my order were chosen Thomas, the prior, Alfere, secretary, Godric Pirl, chamberlain, Uhtred, chanter, Agelric, archdeacon, Edwine, his brother, Frederic, Ægelmar, priests, with many others. All these having consulted together, returned to the holy synod, and affirmed, that there was no parish in the whole city of Wigra-cestre, but that of the mother church, to which St. Helen's had been a vicarage, from the time of King Ethelred, and Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury, when this see was founded, and Bosel made first bishop thereof, in the year of our Lord's incarnation 680, indiction 7. This institution was kept inviolable by the clerks serving therein, from the time of the aforesaid Bosel, through the times of all the succeeding bishops, to that of Oswald, archbishop; who, with the help of King Edgar, and the authority of holy father Dunstan, Archbishop of Canterbury, transferred and changed the society of this church from clerks of irregular conversation to monks of regular conversation and habit, in the year of our Lord's incarnation 969, indiction 12. Winsius, priest of St. Helen's, was then vicar of this the holy mother church; who, leaving the world, took the religious habit upon him, as did the other clerks, upon the admonitions of St. Oswald; and he surrendered up the keys of this church, of which, as vicar, he had been the keeper, with its lands, tythes, and other rents, to the common use of the monks. So that Winsy becoming thus a monk with the rest, who had freely chose to be converted with him, as well the foresaid church as the rest of the churches, which they enjoy to this day, with the lands, tythes, rights of sepulture, and all other customs and dignities ecclesiastical, which were heretofore the property of the clerks, passed in right to them, and were settled to their common use, with the assent of King Edgar, and of the blessed Dunstan, and St. Oswald, archbishops. In the third year after his conversion, blessed Oswald, with the said king's consent, made this Winsy prior over the monks of this church; and likewise granted to him, and to the priors his successors, that they should be deans over all their churches and priests, so that no dean or archdeacon should intermeddle with the churches or clerks of the monks, but by leave from the prior. All ecclesiastical dues for these churches he was to pay to the bishop, whose chief dean he was. Of these things, as we have learnt them from our pre-

decessors, and have seen them observed in our times, under your predecessor Aldred and yourself, we are witnesses. Therefore I Wulstan, approving this true testimony, have put an end to the controversy of the priests, and have corroborated the same with the testimony of this holy synod, and our hand and seal: cautiously providing, that no dissension or scandal shall hereafter arise about these matters, in this holy mother church, between the monks or any other persons whatsoever," &c. (1)

Great encomiums are given of Wulstan by the monks his admirers, especially by William of Malmsbury, who wrote a book of his life and miracles. (2) He was, doubtless, an extraordinary man: a persuasive and powerful preacher, though his attainments in literature were mean: remarkably humble, in an age when the prelatie character was haughtiness: meek and patient, yet, on proper occasions, he wanted not spirit: unversed in the arts of courtiers, unable to put off the austerity of the monk, unsuspecting and generous himself, he was no match for Ægelwig, the sly Abbat of Evesham, who tricked the good bishop out of several manors: but this simplicity was, on the whole, his chief protection; it saved him, when the jealousy of the Conqueror disturbed and ejected all the other English bishops from their sees. Even Wulstan was not intended to be spared. At a synod, said to be held at Westminster, Lanfranc the Norman, who had been made Archbishop of Canterbury, was encouraged to bring charges of insufficiency against him; among which one was, that he could not speak French. Wul-

(1) Ang. Sac. P. I. p. 542, 543.

(2) A great article of commerce among the Anglo-Saxons was slaves: it continued to the time of the Confessor. *Gith*, wife to Godwin, Earl of Kent, was famous for her dealings in this barbarous traffic, by which she accumulated great wealth. The people of Bristol, we are told, continued this shocking custom, till they were prevailed on by the advice and entreaties of Wulstan, Bishop of Worcester, to abandon it; * this was in the time of the Norman conquest.

The wearing of long hair during the reign of Edward the Confessor was so common, that Wulstan not only boldly inveighed against the custom, and severely reproached the people for their effeminacy, but when any one bowed down their head to receive his blessing, before he gave it, he cut off a lock of their hair with a little sharp knife that he carried about him; and commanded, by way of penance, that they should cut the rest of their hair in the same manner, denouncing dreadful judgments against such as disobeyed that injunction. † The clergy of his time were as much addicted to finery in their clothing as the laity, wearing the richest furs in their dresses; Wulstan often rebuked them for this excess: "believe me," said the good bishop, "I never heard chanted *Cattus Dei*, but *Agnus Dei*," ‡

* Hollingshed. *Vita Wulstani* apud *Anglia Sacra*, tom. II. p. 256. *Malmsb. lib. i. c. 3.* Strutt's Chron. vol. II. chap. v. p. 227, 228. Ibid. *Manners and Customs*, vol. I. p. 73. † *Vita Wulstani*, *Angl. Sacra*, t. II. p. 254. Strutt's Chron. vol. II. p. 239, in notes. ‡ Ibid. p. 259.—p. 242. and Dr. Thomas's *Acc. of the Bishops of Worc.* p. 97.

stan had a short time allowed for preparing his defence; and spent that time, not in consultation, but in chanting the breviary with his attendants. By the agreement of the council, Wulstan, who refused to resign his see to any other than the prince who placed him in it, laid his pastoral staff upon the tomb of his benefactor, Edward the Confessor, in token of his resignation, and received it again from thence in the presence of King William, Lanfranc, and many others, as from present governing authority. (1) This gratitude to his dead patron, and the sanctity and simplicity of his manners, as a prelate, procured him favour, made even his enemies revere him, and effected his peaceable confirmation in his bishopric. At the synod of Pedredton, not long before, (in 1071) he had been no less successful against the advocates of the see of York; who, to justify Aldred's detention of twelve manors from the church of Worcester, which the new archbishop, Thomas of Baieux, was desirous of keeping) pretended, that by papal provision, the bishop of Worcester was no more than a suffragan of York. But Wulstan boldly supported the rights of his see, and justice was done him; so that the church of Worcester was now quite disencumbered from the encroachments of York, and had all the privileges and liberties granted by the Saxon kings confirmed to it. And, though the new metropolitan of York made appeal to the Pope, it was without effect; and the independency of Bishop Wulstan and his successors, against the claim of that archbishop, was finally determined by the king and his nobles at Windlesore, (Windsor) in 1072. The monk, Hemingus, (often cited in these pages) was a great admirer of Bishop Wulstan, and relates several anecdotes that he had learned from his mouth. By fraternal agreements subsisting between the convents of Worcester, Evesham, Pershore, &c. masses were to be said in all those religious houses for every monk that should die in any of them; and for the soul of an abbat, or a prior, still more of these commendatory services were claimed. Now it happened, that Ægelwin, the intriguing Abbat of Evesham, died of the gout. Wulstan, at the head of the brotherhood of Worcester, began the obitual intercessions there, for the repose of his soul; but in attending the solemnities, was himself seized with a severe attack of that distemper. In vain were physicians called in: the gout was stubborn. Night, however, produced a vision, wherein it was revealed to the bishop, that this gout was

(1) Matt. Paris. Ailred Rieval, de Vit. Edw. p. 408. Sir H. Spelm. Ed. 1723. p. 119, 120.

inflicted on him, in punishment for his praying for such a wretch's soul; and that he must desist from the charitable office, if he expected any cure. He communicated this revelation to his clerks: a stop was put to the commemoration of the unworthy abbat; and the bishop soon recovered. (1) This little anecdote, which is transmitted to us from his own mouth, shews, that even Wulstan was not quite destitute of art. He died the 19th of January, 1095, aged about 87; having sat in this see thirty-two years, and somewhat more than four months. The miracles pretended to be wrought at his shrine in this cathedral raised him afterwards to the class of saints. Pope Innocent III. canonized him in the year 1203. He was the last of the Saxon bishops of Worcester, and had for his successor

SAMPSON, a noble Norman, canon of Baieux in his native country, custos or dean of the collegiate church of Wulverhampton in this, and brother of that Thomas, Archbishop of York, who is mentioned in the former article. He was elected to this see and consecrated in 1096. He conferred on the prior and monks of Worcester his rich church of Wulfrunhampton, with all its territories; of which, however, after his death, Roger, Bishop of Salisbury, dispossessed them. But he disoblged the whole monastic order by his regulations at Westbury; where he replaced secular canons, annulling the constitution of Oswald, who had settled monks in that ancient college. In the year 1100, he, with Gundulph, Bishop of Rochester, and Harvey, Bishop of Bangor, dedicated the great church of Gloucester, which the Abbat Serlo had built from the foundation. (2) He died at Westbury, May 5, 1112, and was buried before the rood loft in his cathedral of Worcester. (3) He was succeeded by

THEULF, Thewold, or Theulphus, a prebendary also of Baieux, and chaplain to the king. He was elected Dec. 28, 1113, but not consecrated till June 27, 1115. In 1121, he, with the Bishops of Hereford, Glamorgan, and Dublin, consecrated the great church at Tewkesbury. (4) He died at his manor of Hampton, Oct. 20, 1123, and was interred by his predecessor. (5) In the beginning of the year 1125, the king, then in Normandy, gave this bishopric to

SIMON, chaplain or chancellor, or (as by some said) both, to his second

(1) Mr. Tindal has retained this story in his "History and Antiquities of Evesham Abbey," p. 16, 17.

(2) Flor. Wig. p. 469.

(3) Ibid.

(4) Flor. Wig. sub Anno.

(5) Angl. Sac. P. I. p. 475.

queen, Adeleide of Louvain. (1) In 1130, on Rogation Sunday, he was at the dedication of the new church at Canterbury, with the king and many of his nobles. In 1136, he, with Robert, Bishop of Hereford, consecrated the church at Lanthony, near Gloucester. (2) In 1139, he went in company with Theobald, Archbishop of Canterbury, and others, being summoned to a council at Rome. (3) He restored Westbury to the monks, and was a very considerable patron to the church of Worcester, by restoring to it many lands and effects, of which it had been deprived. He died, 20 March, 1149-50. To him succeeded

JOHN DE PAGEHAM, or Pagham, chaplain to Theobald, Archbishop of Canterbury; and by him consecrated to this see, March 4, 1151. He died at Rome, 1158, (4) and was succeeded by

ALURED, or Alfred, King Henry the First's chaplain, enthroned April 13, 1158. It is uncertain how long he sat in this see, the accounts of his death vary so much. (5) But his successor was

ROGER, son of Robert, Earl of Gloucester, natural son of King Henry I. who was chosen in March, 1163, being then but a youth, and consecrated 23 August, 1164. He, and Bartholomew Bishop of Exeter, were held in great esteem by Pope Alexander III. who called them the two lights of England, and delegated to them most of the causes of this kingdom that came before him. (6) Both of them were firmly attached to Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury, as appears by several of that prelate's letters. After whose murder, Roger, with others, was sent by King Henry II. anno 1171, on an embassy to Pope Alexander, to assure him of the king's innocence. He was present at the Lateran council at Rome in 1178, and in his return died at Tours, in France, August the 9th, 1179, and was there buried. He was remarkable for many virtues, and much esteemed for his regular life and strict execution of church discipline. That he was of an undaunted spirit, is evident, from what happened to him in St. Peter's church, Gloucester: as he was celebrating mass at the high altar, one of the great towers

(1) Flor. Godwin. (2) Angl. Sac. P. II. p. 321, 322. (3) Flor. Wig. (4) Wharton. Angl. Sac. P. I. p. 475.

(5) According to Mr. Wharton, he died 1160; Alford, 1161: but the Worcester Annals say he sat four years, and that he consecrated Fromund, Abbat of Tewkesbury, at Worcester, in 1162, and that he then visited that convent. [Angl. Sac. P. I. p. 476.] And Mr. Abingdon has placed him (by name only), between *Simon* and *John de Pageham*. [See his Account of the Bishops of Worcester, p. 98.]

(6) Angl. Sac. P. II. p. 425.

at the west end of the church fell down with such a terrible noise and dust, that the multitude got out as fast as they could; but he, with one or two monks that did not forsake him, went on performing divine service unmoved. (1) He was succeeded by

BALDWIN, born of mean parentage at Exeter, where he was schoolmaster some time. Upon his entering into holy orders, he was presented to an archdeaconry, which he resigned; and taking upon him the habit of a Cistercian monk, was chosen Abbat of Ford, in Devonshire; and, in a few years, was from thence promoted to the see of Worcester, to which he was consecrated at Lambeth, August 10, 1180; and December 18, 1184, was translated from hence to the archbishopric of Canterbury; (2) being the first monk of that order that ever was made archbishop there. In the same year the rebuilding of the present cathedral of Canterbury was completed, having been ten years in restoring, after it had been destroyed by fire in 1174. (3) In accompanying King Richard to the Holy Land, he died there, at the siege of Acon, A. D. 1191. (4) He was succeeded in the chair of Worcester by

WILLIAM DE NORHALE, prebendary of St. Paul's, London, and archdeacon of Gloucester. He was consecrated in St. Catherine's chapel, Westminster. (5) He died May 3, 1190.

ROBERT FITZ-RALPH, a prebendary of Lincoln, and archdeacon of Nottingham, was next elected. He obtained a mandate from Pope Clement, that he might be consecrated by William, Bishop of Ely, his legate, at Westminster; but the monks of Canterbury insisted on the performance of this solemnity in their church; and there accordingly he was consecrated, May 5, anno 1191, by the legate at Canterbury. He died in June, 1193, and was succeeded by

HENRY DE SOILLI, Prior of Bermondsey, and afterwards Abbat of Glastonbury, elected Dec. 3, consecrated at Canterbury Dec. 12, and enthroned Jan. 6, following. He died Oct. 25, 1195; succeeded by

JOHN DE CONSTANTIIIS, or de Coustances, archdeacon of Oxford, dean of Roan, in Normandy, and nephew to Walter, Archbishop of that city. He was consecrated at Stratford, near London, by Hubert, Archbishop of Can-

(1) Angl. Sac. P. II. p. 428. (2) Ibid. P. I. p. 477. Godwin. Ant. Brit. (3) Gervase. See Duncombe's Description of Cant. Cath. p. 148, in Appendix. (4) Godwin. Antiq. Brit. (5) Ann. Wig. and Le Neve, p. 295.

terbury, Oct. 20, and dying Sept. 24, 1198, was interred in this cathedral, and succeeded in the bishopric by

MAUGER, or Malger, archdeacon of Evreux, in Normandy, physician to King Richard I. and dean of York. His election was rejected by the archbishop, because he was not lawfully begotten; upon which he went to Rome, where Pope Innocent, admiring the elegance of his person, confirmed and consecrated him. In 1204, Bishop Mauger replaced the bones of the blessed Wulstan in the same grave from whence they had been irreverently removed by his predecessor. (1) In 1208, after having laid the kingdom under an interdict by command of the pope, he, with the bishops of London and Ely, his associates, fled into France, where he died, July 1, 1212, at Ponthieu. (2)

The monks of Worcester chose RANDULPH, their prior, to be their bishop, on the death of Mauger; but at the instance of Nicholas, the pope's legate, he receded from the election, and was made Abbat of Evesham. Upon which succeeded (3)

WALTER DE GREY, then chancellor of England. He was of the family of the Greys, which afterwards was ennobled, and greatly distinguished in the English peerage. He had been chosen Bishop of Litchfield by the canons of that church, in opposition to Josbert, whom the monks of Coventry had elected. But both of their elections were annulled by the Pope's legate; and he was made Bishop of Worcester, 20 January, 1214. In 1215, he was translated from hence to the see of York, which had been vacant four years. Simon de Langton, brother to Stephen Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury, had found means to get himself elected by the chapter. To this election King John objected, and set it aside, alleging the danger to the state, to have the whole church of England governed by two brothers. The Pope, then on good terms with the king, annulled Langton's election, and knowing it was his desire to have Walter de Grey become archbishop, he was accordingly appointed. When presented to his holiness for his approbation, the orator, among his other good qualities, thought fit to mention his extraordinary "*chastity, never having known woman from his cradle.*" "By "*St. Peter,*" exclaimed the Pope, "*chastity is a very great virtue, and therefore you shall have him.*" (4)

(1) An. Wig.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Lib. Alb. Episc. Wigorn. p. 92.

(4) Drake's York, p. 425.

SILVESTER DE EVESHAM, first a monk, and in 1215 Prior of this church, succeeded Walter de Grey in the bishopric, April, 1216, and was consecrated thereto by Pope Innocent III. at Perugia in Italy, the 3d of July, the same year, where he attended at the Lateran council. The year following, King John died at Newark, and was brought hither for interment. In 1218, in the presence of King Henry III. and many bishops and nobles, he solemnly consecrated this church, which had been now repaired, after the injuries it sustained by fire in 1202, and dedicated it anew to St. Mary, St. Peter, St. Oswald, and St. Wulstan. On 16 July following he died at Ramsey, and was brought hither for interment. He was succeeded by

WILLIAM DE BLOIS, archdeacon of Buckingham, who was consecrated to the bishopric Oct. 7, 1218. In 1220, he consecrated the bells which had been newly cast for the use of the cathedral, and put up in the leaden steeple adjoining to it. (1) In 1224, he laid the foundation stone of a new front or nave to the church. (2) In the same year, he built the chapel of the charnel house, (3) (Capella Carnaria) between the cathedral church and his palace. He died at Allchurch, Aug. 18, 1236, and was buried in this church; succeeded by

WALTER DE CANTELUPE, son of Lord Cantelupe, consecrated by the Pope in 1237; and enthroned Oct. 13 following, in the presence of the king and queen of England, the queen of Scotland, the pope's legate, the archbishop of Canterbury, and many other peers of the realm. He was a man of spirit, and proved himself a strenuous advocate for the liberties of the English church, against the overbearing power of the see of Rome; especially in the synod of 1255, when, from the example of his intrepidity, the other prelates took heart, and made a noble stand with him against papal oppression. (4) In the year 1240, he held, in St. Mary's at Worcester, a synod of his clergy; in which he made fifty-nine constitutions, to be observed in his diocese. (5) In the year 1241, he, with the legate and others, went to Rome; and, in 1245, made another visit to that metropolis. He founded the nunnery of the White Ladies, and on the second of the ides of July, 1255, dedicated its church to St. Mary Magdalen. (6) He augmented the chapel of the charnel house, founded by his predecessor; and ordained,

(1) See Sect. IV. p. 43. (2) Ibid. p. 44. (3) Ibid. p. 54. (4) Mat. Paris, p. 448.
Collier's Eccles. Hist. vol. I. p. 438, 439. (5) Labbe's Councils, t. II. P. i. p. 275.
(6) Tanner, 623. Gough's Add. to Camden, in Worcestershire, and Dr. Nash, vol. I. p. 209, 210.

that there should be resident continually therein four chaplains, one of which to be a perpetual master; that they should say mass daily for the dead, teach in the schools, eat and sleep together in one house. About 1263 he began to fortify the manor house at Hartlebury, but left the work unfinished. He joined the barons in their wars against King Henry III. and for his activity in that cause was, with three other bishops, excommunicated in 1265 by the Pope's legate. He died at Blockley in February of the next year, and was buried in this cathedral; and succeeded in this see by

NICHOLAS, archdeacon of Ely, chancellor and treasurer of England. He was one of the twelve persons appointed by the king and nobles at Kenelworth to settle the peace of the kingdom. He gave by will sixty marks for the re-edifying the tower of this cathedral. (1) He sat not quite two years in the government of this diocese, being translated to Winchester in 1268, and succeeded here by

GODFREY DE GIFFARD, lord chancellor of England, brother of Walter Giffard, Archbishop of York; (2) elected to this see in 1268. King Henry granted him leave to carry on the castle of Hartlebury, as begun by his predecessor Walter de Cantelupe. (3) This bishop finished it: he made several churches of the patronage of his cathedral prebendal to Westbury in Gloucestershire, where a college for a dean and canons was founded, A. D. 1288. He was strongly, but ineffectually, opposed in this measure by his chapter. (4) He seems to have been a man of a high spirit; overbearing and litigious; was involved in tedious contests with the priory of Worcester; and made his visitations very burdensome, by the great number of horse (not less than a hundred) that formed his retinue. He died January 26th, 1301-2, and lies buried in this cathedral.

Upon his death King Edward I. granted his licence to the monks of Worcester, which bears date 15th Feb. 1301-2, to choose their bishop. (5) In pursuance whereof they appointed seven of their body as a committee to

(1) He died 1280; his body was buried at Waverley, and his heart in the cathedral of Winchester. [Annals Waverl. p. 223, 224.—Gale's Hist. Winchester Cath. p. 99.]

(2) The Giffards of Weston in Gloucestershire, to testify their descent from this bishop, give the arms of the bishopric of Worcester, being, argent charged with ten torteauxes, signifying the eucharist. Among other legacies, his will directs a ring of not less than 40 or 50 shillings value to be given to every bishop in England. (3) Dr. Thomas's Append. No. 44, p. 37.

(4) Gough's Additions to Camden, in Gloucestershire, vol. I. p. 274, 275.

(5) Dr. Thomas's Append. No. 7, p. 82.

elect a bishop in the name of the rest, and by whose suffrage they should be determined. This committee unanimously chose John de Sancto Germano, one of their own number, and the election was confirmed by the king. (1) But the Archbishop of Canterbury found evasions for delaying his consecration: upon this, the bishop elect applied to the court of Rome, with letters recommendatory from the king, and the prior and convent, (2) but to no purpose, he being there obliged to renounce his right to the bishopric for want of money: and, Oct. 22d, the Pope promoted to this see, in succession to Godfrey Giffard,

WILLIAM DE GAYNESBERUWE, or Gainsborough, a Franciscan friar, and who had been lecturer of that order in Oxford; then reader of divinity in the Pope's palace. After he had been consecrated by his holiness, he left Rome and came to London, 1302-3. The king exasperated at his obtaining the bishopric in this manner, withheld his temporalities from him some time; and on his granting them, obliged him to renounce in writing, that clause of the Pope's bull, wherein the Pontiff assumes to himself the right of disposing of the temporalities or spiritualities of this see. (3) On his arrival near Worcester, he was received at Red-hill by a numerous procession of clergy, with some abbats and bishops at their head; and at the door of St. Wulstan's hospital by the minor or grey friars: there he alighted, and to gain the people by a shew of humility, walked barefoot to St. Michael's church, where he was robed; thence proceeding up the choir of St. Mary's, he was with the usual solemnity enthroned. (4) In 1307, he was sent by the king into France, to treat about a marriage between Prince Edward his eldest son, and Isabel, King Philip's daughter; which he accomplished to his liking; and on his return died at Beauvais, September 17th, 1307, and was buried the following day. He was succeeded by

WALTER REGINALD, or Reynold, canon of St. Paul's. He was chaplain to Edward I. and preceptor to the prince, afterwards Edward II. and although made chancellor and treasurer of England by him, he basely aided the queen and Mortimer against him, and went into all the popular and vio-

(1) Dr. Thomas's Append. No. 71.

(2) Ibid, No. 72, 73, p. 83.

(3) This introduced the custom, which continued to the Reformation, for bishops, when they received the temporalities of their sees, to make renunciation in writing, of all claim to them in virtue of papal provision, declaring their acceptance of them solely from the grant of the king.

(4) Dr. Thomas's Append. No. 76, p. 85, 86.

lent measures which finally brought that unhappy monarch to his grave. (1) In 1313 he was translated from this to the see of Canterbury. He is said to have been a baker's son of Windsor. In the bishopric of Worcester he was succeeded by

WALTER DE MAYDENSTON, also a canon of St. Paul's, and one of the king's agents at the Pope's court. He had his consecration from the Pontiff, and received the temporalities of this see Feb. 3d, 1313. Dr. Thomas has very laudably and successfully taken pains to rescue the character of this prelate from the aspersions of some of his enemies, among whom Adam de Murymouth, a professor of civil law, is named, as having in his history given an unfavourable report of him, but upon very suspicious grounds. (2) He died beyond sea, 28th March, 1317; succeeded by

THOMAS COBHAM, prebendary of St. Paul's, archdeacon of Lewes, and chancellor of the university of Cambridge: a man of eminent learning, and adorned with many amiable virtues, insomuch that he was commonly distinguished by the name of the good, or the honest clerk. In 1313, he had the honour of being chosen Archbishop of Canterbury, by the unanimous suffrage of the chapter there: but that election was over-ruled by the Pope, at the instance of King Edward II. (3) To make Cobham some amends, the see of Worcester was then offered him, which at that time he refused: but upon Maydenston's death, he accepted of this bishopric, and was consecrated thereto at Avignon, 1317. He began a library over the old congregation house at Oxford, about the year 1320, but did not live to finish it, dying at Hartlebury, August 27, 1327. He, however, left money enough to complete it, and gave many books to the university, to furnish it when erected. (4) He vaulted the roof of the north ile of the nave of this cathedral at his own expence, and close to the wall of that ile was his tomb. See Appendix, No. VIII. p. xxxi.

(1) Weever's Fun. Mon. p. 23, 24.—Duncomb's Cant. Cath. p. 93.

(2) See Account of the Bishops of Worcester, p. 160 to 165.

(3) Willis says he refused to accept this offer from his great humility, and chose rather to content himself with this. [Cathedrals, vol. I. p. 640.]

(4) In his will he bequeathed very liberal donations for the service of this cathedral. Among others were his great missal, an image of the blessed Virgin, given him by the abbat of St. Augustin, Bristol; his fine mitre, given him by the Archbishop of Canterbury, a long carpet of various work, to put under the bishop's feet, and a jewel set in gold to hang at the high altar. [Dr. Thomas's Account of the Bishops of Worcester, p. 168; and in Appendix, No. 89, p. 103.]

Upon his death the monks of Worcester chose Wolstan de Braunsford, their prior, to succeed him : whose election was confirmed by the young king, Edward III. It is said the archbishop confirmed it likewise, but durst not consecrate him ; nor, after the archbishop's death, durst the prior and convent of Canterbury, in obedience to the king's command, call together any of the suffragan bishops of the province to do it, being afraid of the Pope ; who, by virtue of his reservation of this bishopric, had given it to

ADAM DE ORLTON, or Horleton, Bishop of Hereford, and a native of that city ; 4 cal. Oct. 1324. He was enthroned 19th June, 1329. (1) This bishop seems to have raised himself by actions wholly unbecoming his sacred function. Treachery and villainy never cast a more shocking gloom, than when appearing under the robes of a guardian of virtue, and superintendant of religion. In the contest between Edward II. and Isabel his queen, he joined with her and her followers in their rebellion, and preached against the king at Oxford ; and was thought (2) to be too much concerned in his murder. (3) After this he obtained of the Pope a translation from this to the see of Winchester, in 1333, without the young king's knowledge, which so enraged him, that he ordered an appeal to be prosecuted in the Roman court. His accusation consisted of three articles. 1. That he caused Robert Baldock, clerk chancellor to the king, to be apprehended and imprisoned in Newgate, where he died of his ill usage. 2. That he preached publicly at Oxford, in the presence of the queen and prince, and several noblemen, that King Edward was a tyrant, and thereby stirred up his subjects to imprison and depose him. 3, and lastly, That by his persuasion and advice, the queen had departed from her husband. To all which

(1) MS. Add. by B. Willis, in Cath. vol. I. p. 640.

(2) Justice ought to be done even to the infamous. Almost all our chronicles relate, that Bishop Adam sent to the governors of Berkley castle, where the king was confined, this ambiguous note : " Edwardum occidere : nolite timere bonum est."* which at first sight, exhorts to the murder ; but admits of a contrary sense, if you place the colon, or stop, after nolite. But of this heinous charge I must pronounce the bishop innocent. For he left England in 1327, to solicit the Pope's dispensation in order to the marriage of the young king with his cousin Philippa of Hainault ; and was at Avignon with the Pope in September, when the Pontiff promoted him to the see of Worcester. Consequently he was beyond sea all the time of the unfortunate king's confinement in Berkley castle, who was brought thither April 3d, and was murdered September 21st, in the same year, 1327.

(3) Speed's Chron. p. 578.

* Camden, in Gloucestershire, vol. I. p. 262, Mr. Gough's edition.

he returned shuffling and evasive answers ; and craftily insinuating himself into the king's favour again, he obtained the possession of his new bishopric the same year ; being the first of all the English bishops (if we except Stigandus and Ricardus Pauper) who was translated from a second to a third bishopric. (1) He was succeeded in this see by

SIMON DE MONTEACUTO, or Montagu, another bishop put in by the Pope, whose chaplain he was, in subdeacon's orders, and archdeacon of Canterbury. He was advanced to this bishopric at the request of King Edward II. who speaks of him as his kinsman (*consanguineus noster*) in a letter to the Pope. (2) In 1336 he restored to the prior and convent the manor of Croule, which had been formerly taken from them, and was then held of him in *capite* ; for which they made him partaker of all their prayers ; and ordered that the day of his death should be inserted in their martyrology, and his anniversary to be kept with mass and chant in their choir. (3)

In 1337 he was by Pope Benedict XII. translated from hence to the see of Ely ; and was in this succeeded by

THOMAS HEMENHALE, or Emenhale, whose name was taken from the place of his birth, a village near Norwich, in which city he was a monk ; and upon the death of William Ayremin their bishop, he was, by his fellow monks, chosen to succeed him ; and applied personally to the court of Rome for his confirmation therein ; instead of which, the Pope promoted him to this of Worcester, having reserved that of Norwich for Anthony de Beck. He sat here but a short time, dying at Hartlebury castle in December, 1338, and was buried in his cathedral here. This see having been supplied with bishops by the Pope's provision for the last seven successions, (Reginald's election excepted) the monks resumed their right of choosing their diocesan ; and having obtained the king's permission so to do, they elected for bishop, a second time,

(1) The reason for his thus changing about is described in the following sarcastic verses, alluding to the tutelar saints of the respective cathedrals in which he had governed as bishop :

“ Thomam * despexit, Wolstanum † non bene rexit,

“ Swithanum ‡ maluit : Cur ? quia, plus valuit.”

(2) Bentham, p. 159, ex. Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. III. p. 743.

(3) Mont. Regis. vol. II. f. 19, 20.—Dr. Thomas's *Acc. of the Bishops of Worcester*, p. 174.

* Hereford. † Worcester. ‡ Winchester. [Willis's *Cathedrals*, vol. I. p. 640.—*Angl. Sac. P. I.* p. 553.] He died blind, A. D. 1345. [Abing. MS. p. 41.—Gale's *Hist. Win. Cath.* p. 101.]

WOLSTAN DE BRAUNSFORD, their prior, (1) then old and infirm. He was consecrated at Canterbury March 28th, 1339. (2) He died at Hartlebury, Aug. 6, 1349. He was succeeded by

JOHN DE THORESBY, or Thursby, in preference to the then prior, John de Evesham, chosen by the monks of Worcester. He was translated by Pope Clement from the see of St. David's hither, by virtue of his bull, dated 4th September, 1349. He had been master of the rolls; and in 1350 was made high chancellor of England. In 1352 he was from hence preferred to the archbishopric of York, to which he was elected by the chapter of that church, as a postulation to the Pope, who thought proper to confirm it, without noticing the measure of the chapter. (3) He was succeeded here, by virtue of papal provision, by

REGINALD BRIAN, who had before succeeded him in St. David's. This prelate was honoured with the personal regard and friendship of that flower of English chivalry, the renowned and valiant Edward the Black Prince, and was one of the persons to whom he dispatched the first account and particulars of the famous battle at Poitiers, in a letter, written in French, remarkable for its piety, modesty, and politeness, dated at Bourdeaux, Oct. 20, 1356, and addressed to Bishop Brian, at Alvechurch. (4) In 1361, he

(1) Whilst he was prior, he built the guessten hall, at present called the audit house, adjoining to the prior's lodgings, (now the deanry) anno 1320. He is also said to have built a bridge at Braunsford, near Worcester, the place of his nativity, over the river Tame. [Lel. Itin. vol. VIII. p. 127.]

(2) Browne Willis's MS. p. 641, in vol. I. Cath.

(3) This prelate had the credit of ending a dispute which had subsisted between the two archiepiscopal sees for near two hundred years, about the privilege of having each their cross borne up before them in the province of the other. This famous controversy was brought to a crisis in 1315. The superiority and precedence of the see of Canterbury over that of York had been allowed and confirmed by several popes, and kings of England, down to that period; when Greenfield, Archbishop of York, in passing through the diocese of Worcester, presumed to have his cross borne before him, and to give his benediction to the people. Walter Reginald, then Archbishop of Canterbury, in which province this diocese is, sent forthwith two mandates to Maydenston, then Bishop of Worcester, commanding him to excommunicate the Archbishop of York, and all his adherents; which was accordingly done at the priory of Lanthony, near Gloucester, and also in the archdeaconry of Worcester.* In confirmation of the concordat now acceded to by the two archbishops, Pope Innocent VI. to gratify both the parties, invented that nice distinction of *Primate of England*, and *Primate of all England*; which last was given to Simon Islip, then Archbishop of Canterbury. †

(4) The original letter is now in the archives of the Dean and Chapter of Worcester. [Regist. Reginaldi Brien, Wigorn. Episcopi, fol. 113.] A copy of it was communicated by Dr. Lyttelton, dean of

* Mayd. Regis. f. 30, 31. Dr. Thomas's Account of the Bishops of Worcester, p. 162, 163. and in Appendix, No. 81, p. 93.

† Angl. Sac. Drake's York, p. 434, 435.

was advanced from this to the see of Ely, by Pope Innocent VI. But he died of the plague at Alvechurch, in December that year, before he could take possession of it; and was buried in this cathedral. He was succeeded here by

JOHN BARNET, in virtue of the Pope's provisory bull. He was chaplain to Thomas de L'Isle, Bishop of Ely, residentiary canon of St. Paul's, archdeacon of London, and then of Essex; from whence he was promoted to this see. In 1362, he was constituted treasurer of England, and the year following was translated to the see of Bath and Wells, and from thence to Ely, 1366. He was succeeded at Worcester by

WILLIAM WITTLESEY, translated hither from the bishopric of Rochester, by the Pope's authority, March 6, 1363; to which translation he consented, 6 April, 1364. (1) He was sister's son of Simon Islip, Archbishop of Canterbury; educated at Cambridge, and was master of Peter-house college there, to which, at his death, he left his library. He was also archdeacon of Huntingdon. From the university he was sent by his uncle to the court of Rome, as his proctor. In 1368, he was translated hence to the see of Canterbury, in succession to his uncle; and was succeeded in this by

WILLIAM LYNN, then Bishop of Chichester, translated to Worcester by Pope Urban V. 1368. He died Nov. 18, 1373, having been taken with an apoplectic fit as he was mounting his horse to go to parliament. He was succeeded by

HENRY WAKEFIELD, Archdeacon of Canterbury, whom Pope Gregory XI. put into this see, in preference to Walter Leigh, Prior, chosen by the prior and convent of Worcester, with the approbation of the king. Two years before his appointment to this see, he had been unsuccessful in his interest to obtain that of Ely; and his receiving this, is said to have been in consequence of that failure, and to make him amends. He was consecrated Bishop of Worcester, Oct. 28, 1375. In 1377, he was constituted high treasurer of England. In the year 1380, he finished the addition of the two Saxon arches to the west end of the cathedral; and, in the year 1386, the great porch or north entrance of it. (2) He died at Blockley,

Exeter, and rector of Alvechurch, to the Society of Antiquaries, before whom it was read, Jan. 24, 1754. [See *Archæologia*, vol. I. Art. XLIV. p. 213. and a translation of it in Dr. Nash, vol. I. p. 34.]

(1) *Hist. and Antiq. Rochester*, p. 148. (2) He had a controversy with his prior, John Green, about the use of the mitre, ring, gloves, pastoral staff, tunic, and dalmatic; which episcopal ornaments had been first granted by Pope Clement VI. 1350-1, Jan. 8, to Prior John de Evesham, and confirmed

11 March, 1394-5, and lies buried between the two lowermost pillars at the west end of the nave of this cathedral. (1) His successor was

TIDEMAN DE WINCHCOMB, Bishop of Landaff. He had been physician to the king, and Abbat of Beaulieu, a house of Cisterians, in Hampshire. Merks, Bishop of Carlisle, and Tideman, Bishop of Worcester, are said before their promotion to have been of the nocturnal parties, all the year round, in which Richard II. indulged himself so excessively, as to have sullied his character living and dead. Tideman was, however, a firm adherent to him, and opposed with all his influence the usurpation of Henry IV. (2) He died, June 13, 1401, and was buried in this cathedral, being the last bishop interred here before Queen Elizabeth's time. (3)

RICHARD CLIFFORD, dean of York, archdeacon of Canterbury, and chaplain to King Richard II. bishop elect of Bath and Wells, was elected also by the monks of Worcester to this see, and to which he was confirmed by Pope Boniface, 1401. In 1396, he was made master of Hastings college, which he resigned in 1398. He was canon of St. Stephen's, Westminster, and keeper of the privy seal of Henry. (4) He was sent by the king into Germany, to treat with the emperor about a marriage between his son and Lady Blanch, the king's eldest daughter. (5) During the prelacy of this bishop, in a synod held at Worcester, A. D. 1404, temp. Hen. IV. by Arundel, Archbishop of Canterbury, one of the acts constituted, that the obsequies of every English bishop deceased should be celebrated in all the cathedrals of the kingdom. (6) In 1407, he was translated to the see of London. His successor in this was

THOMAS PEVERELL, descended of an honourable family in Suffolk, bred

by Urban V. in 1363, and now enlarged by Pope Boniface; but which Bishop Wakefield would not admit of. The archbishop however intervening, and exhorting the prior to submit, it was thus decreed, 13 Nov. 1391. "That the prior might wear in the presence of the bishop his mitre fringed with gold, but without gems and precious stones; also his ring, but no pastoral staff. In his absence, for the honour of God, the blessed Virgin Mary, and the church of Worcester, the prior might wear his mitre adorned with precious stones, his ring, gloves, tunic, and dalmatic, and give his blessing at mass and at table. He might also carry his pastoral staff, upon condition that it should be much shorter than his, painted with only two colours, white and blue, without any gold colour, or set with any gems or pearls." *

(1) See the Plan, ref. No. 51. (2) Gough's Sep. Mon. p. 165. (3) Willis's Cath. vol. I. p. 642. (4) Willis's MS. note, p. 642; in his Cath. vol. I. Drake's York, p. 564. (5) Hall's Chron. p. 19. (6) Fuller, Book iv. p. 159.

* Lib. Pens. f. 51. a. Lib. Alb. f. 412. Wakefield, f. 94. Dr. Thomas, Bishops, p. 186. Ibid. Append. No. 110, 111. p. 125, 126.

at Oxford, and became a Carmelite friar. In 1398, he was made Bishop of Ossory, in Ireland, by King Richard II. In 1399, removed from thence to Landaff, in Wales; and, in 1407, advanced to this see by Pope Gregory XII. He died at his manor of Hembury, in Gloucestershire, March 2, 1418-19, and was buried in the Carmelite's church, juxta Universitatem Oxon; for so it is expressly said in the prior and convent's instrument of their election, and notifying the same to Pope Martin V. (1) The prior and convent of Worcester, April 24, 1419, chose to succeed him

PHILIP MORGAN, LL. D. an eminent civilian, and chancellor of Normandy; during his continuance in which province, King Henry V. to whom he had been chaplain, deputed him to treat with the ambassador of Lewis, the dauphin of France, at Alençon, about a peace. Among the six bishops appointed to form part of the privy council during the minority of Henry VI. this bishop received that honour from the parliament. (2) In 1425, Pope Martin V. translated him from this to the see of Ely, and at the same time conferred this on

THOMAS POLTON, Bishop of Chichester. Whilst he was prebend of Sarum, he assisted at the council of Constance, in 1418. (3) In 1420, he was made Bishop of Hereford, where he sat but fifteen months before he was removed to Chichester, and from thence to Worcester. In 1432, he, with the prior of Norwich, was sent by the king to the council of Basil, where he died, in August, 1433, and was there buried, and not at Rome, as by some is reported. (4) In his will, in Registro Chicheley, at Lambeth, fol. 438, 439, he directed to be buried in the priory of Bustleham, co. Berks, of the order of St. Austin, of which he stiles himself a brother; and bequeathed his mitre to the cathedral of Worcester. (5)

After his death, Pope Eugenius conferred this see on Thomas Brown, dean of Salisbury, who was then at the council of Basil: whilst the monks at Worcester (with the permission of the king, who afterwards prevailed on the Pope to withdraw his nomination of Brown) chose to this see

THOMAS BOURGCHIER, or Bouchier, commonly called Bowser; (6) he was dean of St. Martin's, London, son of William, Earl of Ewe, in Normandy, by Ann, daughter of Thomas de Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester;

(1) Dr. Thomas's Account of the Bishops of Worcester, p. 191. (2) Fuller's Ch. Hist. Book iv. p. 170. (3) B. Willis's MS. in Cath. vol. I. p. 643. (4) Reg. Sed. Vac. f. 260. (5) Willis's Cath. vol. I. p. 643. (6) Synonymous with *Burser*, of a college, or church.

which Thomas was a son of King Edward III. He was bred in Oxford, of which university he was, about this time, made chancellor. Being as yet under the age which the canons require for episcopal orders, he was not consecrated till April, 1435. In 1436, he was chosen to the vacant see of Ely, by the monks there, and confirmed by the Pope; but the king refusing his consent, Bouchier, apprehensive of incurring a premunire, durst not accept of it. But on the death of the Cardinal Lewis de Luxemburg, Bishop of Ely, in 1443, the king permitted him to take it. From whence he was afterwards translated to Canterbury, in 1454, by Pope Nicholas V. In 1455, 33 Henry VI. he was constituted lord chancellor of England, and, in 1464, was created cardinal, by the title of *S. Cyriacus in Thermis*. (1)

Though this bishop owed all his promotions to Henry VI. yet, by appointment, or *ex officio*, he crowned his successor, Edward IV. on whose death, in 1483, the great and privy seal, with the royal signet, or seal ring, were committed to his custody; and in the year following he crowned his successor and brother, Richard III.; and what is yet more extraordinary, he crowned Henry VII. and soon after married him to his queen, Elizabeth of York, daughter of Edward IV. (2) He died at his palace at Knoll, in Kent, March 30, 1486, and was buried, according to his will, on the north side of the choir of his metropolitan church, near the high altar, under a very magnificent tomb, which is still remaining. (3) He was succeeded in this bishopric by

JOHN CARPENTER, D. D. He was rector of Beaconsfield from about 1430 to 1435, and in 1421, was presented to St. Mildred's church, in Oxford, (4) of which university he was afterwards chancellor, and provost of Oriel college, in which he was bred, and in which he founded a fellowship for a native of the diocese of Worcester; (5) he was also master of St. Anthony's, London, and was promoted to this see by the bull of Pope Eugenius IV.

(1) Godwin, p. 129. (2) Antiq. Brit. Eccl. p. 443. Sandford, p. 465. (3) Bishop Godwin remarks, [De Præsul. Angl. p. 129.] that Cardinal Bouchier was a bishop above 51 years, 32 years of which he was an archbishop; a longer time than any he had met with among the English bishops. He built anew the stately house of Knoll, the seat of his Grace the Duke of Dorset. By his will, of which Batteley has printed an extract, he made a bequest of an image of the blessed Virgin, of silver gilt, valued at £69. 5s. to the cathedral church of Worcester. [Weever's Fun. Mon. p. 31, 117. Bentham's Ely, p. 174, 175, 176.] The memory of Archbishop Bouchier is to be respected, because he was the principal instrument of introducing the inestimable art of printing into England, temp. Edward IV.

(4) B. Willis's MS. in p. 643, Cath. l. 2. p. 104.

(5) Angl. Sac. P. I. p. 538. Wood's Antiq. Oxon.

He erected a handsome gatehouse to his palace at Hartlebury, which was ruined in the civil wars. In 1461, he set up a library in the charnel house at Worcester, and endowed it with £10. per annum, for a librarian. (1) He died at Northwyke, near Worcester, from whence he was taken to Westbury upon Trin, his native village, near Bristol, to be interred; where, as Sir Robert Atkyns tells us, was a plain altar monument erected to his memory. (2) He retained a fondness for that place, in which he was revered as a saint, and affected to stile himself Bishop of Worcester and Westbury. (3) He joined with Sir William Cannings, (4) who was dean there, in rebuilding the college of Westbury; to which he added a stately gate, and augmented the endowment. He was also a great benefactor to St. Mary's hall, Oxford. To him succeeded

JOHN ALCOCK, Bishop of Rochester, translated hither 1476. (5) He was born at Beverley, in Yorkshire, and educated at Cambridge. He had been dean of the royal chapel of St. Stephen, Westminster; keeper of the great seal, 1473; president of Wales in the first year of Edward IV. and in the next year master of the rolls. In the two ordinances of Edward IV. on committing the care of Prince Edward to Earl Rivers and the Bishop of Worcester, Alcock was the prelate appointed to that honour. (6) About the year 1481, he rebuilt the church of Little Malvern, and dedicated it to St. Mary, St. Giles, and St. John the Evangelist. (7) He also built a chapel at Beverley, and a chantry for the souls of his parents. (8) In 1484, he founded a chapel, (9) or chantry, on the south side of Trinity church, at

(1) Godwin. Abingdon's MS. Fuller, B. iv. p. 104. Willis, vol. I. p. 643. Cath. Leland.

(2) "This monument [says B. Willis, in his MS. note, p. 643. vol. I. of his Cath.] seems never to have had any inscription. It is an altar tomb, with only his skeleton lying on it. I saw it myself, and went on purpose to Westbury. His effigies is in painted glass, in the east window of the north ile." The tomb is in the south-west corner of the chancel. [Sir R. Atkyns's Gloucestershire, p. 422.]

(3) Bishops anciently appear to have had authority to alter their stile. It was also an ancient custom, that clergymen should take their surname from the place where they were born; and among monks and friars it continued till the suppression of their abbies. [Gibbons's MS. Plut. 30. v. A. Harl. Col. Mus. Brit.]

(4) He built Ratcliff church, Bristol, of which city he was thrice mayor: growing in years, he took orders, and became dean of the collegiate church of Westbury. [Corp. v. II. f. 39. Dr. Thomas, p. 198.]

(5) For the ceremonial of his installation, which took place Dec. 8th, 1476, see Appendix to this Section, No. IX. p. xxxiv, xxxv.

(6) See p. 7, Sir John Doderidge's MS. Bibl. Sloan. No. 3479. Plut. XXII. G. Mus. Brit.

(7) Godwin. (8) Osborne's Cat. Bib. Harl. vol. III. 389.

(9) In this chapel he was buried, A. D. 1500. [See Biographia Britannica.]

This must be erroneous: he lies buried in the middle of a sumptuous chapel which he had built for himself at the east end of the north ile of the presbytery of his cathedral church. His tomb, with his

Kingston upon Hull. He turned St. Radegund's old polluted nunnery at Cambridge into a new foundation, called Jesus' college. (1) He was translated hence to the see of Ely, by Pope Innocent VIII. anno 1486, and the same year made lord chancellor of England. In the same year also it appears, in the "manner and order taken for the christening of the hyghe and mighty Prince Arthur, son to our soveraigne lord King Henry VII. that Master Alcock, Bishop of Worcester, did hallowe the fonte, and christned the prince in pontificalibus," (at Winchester). (2) He was succeeded in this bishopric by

ROBERT MORTON, Archdeacon of York, Gloucester, and Winchester, promoted by the Pope, at the same time that he removed Alcock. He was nephew to John Morton, Archbishop of Canterbury. In 1479, he was made master of the rolls. He obtained a charter of pardon from King Henry VII. in 1496-7, of all treasons, misprisions, &c. that he might possibly be taxed with. (3) This indeed was but a necessary security against the odious proceedings of the harpies of that reign, who marked out the old servants of the crown for victims of their avarice, and worried them with frivolous indictments, enforced with outlawries and confiscations. This grant releases the bishop from suffering any penalties for his acceptance of the Pope's provisory bull. He died the beginning of May following, and was buried in the nave of St. Paul's church, London; though in his will, in which he gave twenty marks to this cathedral, he directed to be interred in the cemetery where he should die. (4) His memory is revered in history, on account

effigies thereon, much defaced, is placed on the north side of the chapel, under an arch of stone. [See Plate XXI. in Bentham's Ely, and his account of the chapel, p. 183.]

(1) Osborne's Cat. Bib. Harl. vol. III. p. 390. In the master's lodgings of that college is still to be seen his picture from the life. He was also represented in painted glass, in the east window of Little Malvern church, Worcestershire, with his patron, Edw. IV. his queen, and family; none of which now remain, but those of Prince Edward and the Princesses, Elizabeth, afterwards queen of Henry VII. Cecilie, afterwards Viscountess Wells, and Anne, the third daughter, afterwards Duchess of Norfolk. [Ab. MS. p. 60. See also an account of the window, in Dr. Nash's Worcestershire, vol. II. p. 142; and of the portraits, in Acta Historica Reginarum Angliæ, art. Elizabeth, Queen Dowager of Edward IV. sub an. 1483, p. 24, 26. by the Author.]

(2) Antiq. Repert. vol. IV. p. 194, 195. This prelate was not only a considerable writer, but an excellent architect, and, as such, was appointed comptroller of the royal works and buildings under King Henry VII. * His own chapel at Ely is a noble specimen of his architectural skill, though at present it lies sadly mangled.

(3) See Dr. Thomas's Appendix, No. CXXIX. p. 152, 153.

(4) Willis's Cath. vol. I. p. 643.

* Parker's Hist. of Camb. p. 119.

of his having been instrumental in forming the union of the houses of York and Lancaster. (1) He was succeeded by

JOHN GIGLES, or de Liliis, LL. D. an Italian, of the country of Lucca, the Pope's questor, or collector for the apostolic chamber in England. He was rector of Swaffham in Norfolk, St. Michael, Crooked lane, London, and of Laneham in Suffolk, prebendary of London and Wells, (2) archdeacon of London and Gloucester, the king's solicitor in the court of Rome, and dean of Wells, 1478. He was advanced to this see by Pope Alexander. (3) He had an extraordinary commission from Pope Innocent VIII. authorizing him to pardon the most heinous offences; whoredom, adultery, robbery, murder, usury, simony, theft, and all sorts of crimes; and to dispense with the non-restitution of goods acquired by any sort of fraud and cozenage, on condition, that part of such gain should be given to the Pope's commissaries, or their deputies. (4) Nor can we suppose him negligent in applying this power to his own as well as his master's emolument. He died 1498, and lies buried in the English college at Rome.

SYLVESTER GIGLES, his brother's son, had also the merit of being collector of the apostolic chamber, and for his usefulness in that employment was by the Pope advanced to this see. (5) In 1512, he was sent by King Henry VIII. to the Lateran council, and died at Rome, anno 1521. In St. Michael's church, at Lucca, there is a monument to his memory. He was succeeded by

JULIUS DE MEDICIS, or Julio di Medici, a Florentine, promoted to this bishopric by Pope Leo X. to whom he was nearly related, being his brother's son; whom, from a soldier of the order of St. John of Jerusalem, he had raised to be a cardinal priest, and vice-chancellor of the Roman church, administrator thereof both in spirituals and temporals; archbishop of Narbon and of Florence. He held this see but one year; for, upon the death of his uncle, Pope Leo, fearing that Adrian, the new pontiff, (who was an Englishman) should think him too great a pluralist, he resigned the mitre of Worcester in September, 1522. He was chosen Pope after the death of Adrian VI. and took upon him the name of Clement VII. (6) and died 1534. He was succeeded in this see by

(1) Batteley's Pref. to the second part of Cant. Sac. (2) B. Willis, MS. in Cath. vol. I. p. 643.

(3) Wharton, Angl Sac. (4) Ibid. P.I. p. 538. (5) Dr. Thomas's Append. No. CXXXI. p. 155.

(6) This pontiff tried in vain the effect of his Vatican thunder upon Henry VIII, who stood unmoved.

JEROME DE GHINUCCIIS, or de Nugutiis, an Italian, as were three of his predecessors; nor was an Englishman promoted to this see till the Pope's authority was abolished; to such a height was the power of the see of Rome advanced over the English church. In Pope Adrian's bull of provision he is said to be Bishop of Asculum, auditor general of the apostolical chamber, and domestic chaplain to the Pope.

This bishop being employed as envoy by King Henry VIII. in foreign parts, was of eminent service to him, in procuring the judgment of the Italian and Spanish divines against his marriage with Queen Catharine, for which, in the year 1533, upon the intercession of this king, and Francis King of France, Pope Clement VII. (his predecessor in this see) raised him to the dignity of a cardinal. After the papal supremacy had been abrogated in England, this bishop, because he did not reside in his diocese, was deprived by act of parliament, in the year 1534-5. He was succeeded by

HUGH LATIMER, son of Hugh Latimer, of Thirkesson, in Leicestershire, a reputable husbandman. He was born about 1470, educated in Christ's college, Cambridge, and was cross keeper to that university, where he took orders, and was at first a zealous papist, but afterwards a more zealous protestant. In 1529, by Lord Cromwell's interest, he was made vicar of West Kingston, in Wiltshire. In 1534, he became chaplain to Queen Anne Bullen, by whose favour he was promoted to this bishopric, and received the temporalities of the king, Oct. 5, 1535. (1) He governed this see about four years. His injunctions to his clergy of this diocese sufficiently shew his opinion of the then state of the church, the gross ignorance and negligence which pervaded the whole clergy, and how necessary a reformation was become; of which the first of the series may serve as ample evidence, viz. "Item, That ye and every one of you provyde to have of youre owne a Hole Byble yf ye can conveniently, or at the leaste a New Testament, both in Latin and Englishe." (2) In 1539, when, through the prevalence of the popish party, the six articles were imposed as terms of communion; unable to subscribe them, he resigned his bishopric, and retired to a private, but not an obscure or indolent life; for he went on to preach with greater

(1) *Angl. Sac.* (2) These injunctions were given in his visitation in 1537, 29 Henry VII. and after the Scriptures were appointed to be read in English.*

* Abingdon's Hist. of the Cath. in Appendix, p. 157.

liberty and courage than before, and laboured to stem the tide of superstition and oppression, and to establish religion in its native purity. Thus he continued in advancing the protestant faith, till on the death of King Edward VI. he was apprehended and imprisoned, with Archbishop Cranmer, and Bishop Ridley, at Oxford, where, with the latter, he was burnt, October 16th, 1555. (1) In the reign of King Henry VIII. upon his resignation, succeeded

JOHN BELL, a Worcestershire man, who was educated in Baliol college, Oxford, and spent some time in Cambridge; to both which places he was a benefactor, particularly to the former, endowing it for the maintenance of two scholars, born in the diocese of Worcester. (2) He was rector of Weston Sub-gege, near Campden, archdeacon of Gloucester, prebendary of Lincoln and Litchfield, warden of the collegiate church of Stratford upon Avon, and vicar-general of the bishop of Worcester, from 1518 to 1526. On his recommendation to King Henry VIII. he made him his envoy to foreign princes, and one of his council; and as a reward for his singular service in defence of his divorce from Queen Catharine, he gave him this bishopric, anno 1539, which he enjoyed not long; for he resigned it in 1543, (3) but for what cause is unknown, and retired to a private life at Clerkenwell, where he died, 1556, and was interred in St. James's church there. Upon his resignation succeeded

NICHOLAS HEATH, Bishop of Rochester, archdeacon of Stafford, and chief almoner to the king, who had given leave to the dean and chapter to choose him. He was the first prelate on the new foundation in the see of Rochester, to which he was consecrated April 4th, 1540. He held the archdeaconry of Stafford, and the rectories of Shoreham and Cliff in Kent, in commendam with his bishopric; he likewise had a licence to enjoy the same privilege for five years after his translation to the more valuable see of Worcester. (4) In 1549-50, refusing to subscribe the book for the making of bishops and priests, and disobeying the king's orders for discontinuing the

(1) See his life in Fox's Book of Martyrs, vol. III. p. 375, &c. See also a life of this bishop by Mr. Gilpin, 1755: it is an entertaining piece of biography. Of the famous relic of the blood of *Hales*, Hugh (Latimer) Bishop of Worcester certified to (Lord) Cromwell, on the evidence of the prior of Hales, and three more, that they found it to be "an unctuowse gum colouryd, which beinge in the glasse, appeared red like blood, but out of it glistening yellow like amber." [Gough's Brit. Topogr. in Gloucestershire, p. 177, 1st edit.] (2) Fuller, B. iii. p. 68.

(3) Dr. Thomas's Append. No. 136. p. 161, 162.

(4) Hist. and Antiq. Rochester, p. 155.

mass, (1) he thereby incurred Edward's displeasure; was committed prisoner to the Fleet, and by royal authority deprived of his office; not by the power of an ecclesiastical court, but by secular delegates, three of whom were civilians, and three common lawyers. (2) Upon his deprivation, the king promoted

JOHN HOPER, or Hooper, Bishop of Gloucester, to this see by his letters patent, 1552, and at the same time suppressed that bishopric, and made it an archdeaconry, dependent on Worcester, as it formerly had been: but this suppression giving some offence, in order to put a stop to it, Hooper formally resigned, and new letters patent of episcopacy were granted him, like the former, with this difference only, that now the two sees were to be united; the revenues of Gloucester being but small, the two cities near each other, and the dioceses not so extensive as to require two pastors, they should for the future be united, under the title of the Bishopric or see of Worcester and Gloucester, as are the sees of Litchfield and Coventry, and of Bath and Wells; and to this end, the bishop was enjoined to spend one half year in one diocese, and the other half in the other. (3) In pursuance of this grant, he was rechosen, and confirmed in the united sees as Bishop of Worcester and Gloucester.

Bishop Hooper was bred in Oxford, and travelled into Switzerland, one of the first Nonconformists. On his being appointed Bishop of Gloucester, he refused to wear the episcopal habit, and, as generally supposed, the oath of canonical obedience to the archbishop; but at length submitted to both, and was consecrated Bishop of Gloucester. (4) This bishop, in the next reign, fell a sacrifice to the madness of the times, and died for the protestant doc-

(1) Collier's Eccl. Hist. vol. II. p. 312.

(2) Hist. Ref. P. II. B. i. As soon as King Edward VI. came to the crown, all bishops were commanded to take out commissions to exercise both temporal and spiritual jurisdiction within their dioceses, as Bonner had done, 31 Henry VIII. 1539: whereby they all acknowledged that they held their bishoprics only during the king's pleasure, and exercised jurisdiction in them as his delegates, in his name, and by his authority only. In December, 1546, an act was passed in parliament to confirm the same, and that for the future, the choosing of bishops by *congé d'elire*, being tedious and expensive, and only the shadow of election in it, they should be made by the king's letters patent; that courts ecclesiastical should be kept in his name, and they to act by no other authority than his, as the supreme head of the church: all offenders to suffer imprisonment at his majesty's will. By virtue of which act Heath was imprisoned as above. Bishop Heath's commission bears date 26th Feb. 1546. [See Dr. Thomas's Appendix, No. 137, p. 163, 164.]

(3) Dr. Thomas's Appendix, No. 138, p. 165, &c. to 172.

(4) Fuller, Book vii. p. 402, 403.

trine with a martyr's fortitude: a man of eminent learning, exemplary piety, unblemished morals, and of most extensive charity. (1) Upon the accession of Queen Mary to the throne, she restored this see to

NICHOLAS HEATH, who was happy enough to be in great favour with her. She made him president of Wales, and soon after translated him to the see of York; and upon the death of Gardiner, made him chancellor of England. The bull of Pope Paul IV. which confirmed his election to the archbishopric of York, bears date 11 kal. Julii, anno 1555, and is the last instrument of that kind acknowledged in that see. (2) He was succeeded in this chair by

RICHARD PATES, an Oxfordshire man, and bred in that university. He was archdeacon of Winchester, and afterwards of Lincoln: he had been employed in several embassies by King Henry, particularly to the emperor, 1534 and 1540; but in 1542, was attainted of high treason, and deprived of his archdeaconry. Queen Mary preferred him to this see, in which he continued till Queen Elizabeth's accession to the throne, when he was deprived, and imprisoned for some little time; and when released, he went

(1) See Fox's Book of Martyrs, vol. III. f. 119. Bishop Blandford in his MS. says, "In the year 1551, June 21st, he (Bishop Hooper) came to Worcester with his wife and daughter; he wore a long beard." In his person he was tall, and was much afflicted with sciatic pains. He was burnt at Gloucester, opposite the college of priests, Friday, Feb. 9th, 1555. When he was chained to the stake, a pardon, on condition of his recantation, was placed on a stool before him; but he was inflexible, and bore his torments with invincible patience. The following "Order for his burning at Gloucester, in the time of Queen Mary," is taken from No. 464, in the Cotton lib. Brit. Mus. Cleopatra, E. V. p. 380.

"Whereas, John Hooper, who of late was called Bushope of Worcestershire and Glocestershire, is by due order of the lawes ecclesiastike condemned and judged for a most obstinate, false detestable heretycke, and comytted to our seculere p^{ow}re to be burned accordinge to the holse and good lawes of o^{ur} realme in that case p^{ro}vided, for asmuche as in thos cittyes and dioceses therof he hath in tymes past preached and taughte most pestelente herrecies and doctryne to o^{ur} subiects theare: wee have therfore geven order that the sayd Hooper, who yet p^{er}sisteth obstinate, and hath refused mercye when it was graciously offered, shall be put to executyone in the sayd citty of Glocestershire, for the example and terrore of otheres, suche as he hath theare seduced and mistaughte, and because he hath done moste harme theare. And woll that yo^{ur}e callynge unto yo^{ur}e some of reputacone dwellynge in the sheere, such as yee thinke beste, shall repayre unto o^{ur} sayd citty, and be at the sayd executyone, assystynge our mayre and sherifes of the same citty in his behalfe; and for asmuche also as the sayd Hooper is, as heretickes be, a vayneglorious p^{er}son, and delyteth in his tonge, and havinge lybertye maye use his sayd tonge to p^{er}swade suche as he hath seduced to p^{er}syste in the myserable opynyone that he hath sowne amongeste them, our pleasure is thearfor, and wee require yo^{ur}e to take order that the sayde Hooper be nether at the tyme of his executyone, nor in goinge to the place thearof, suffered to speake at large, but thether to be lede quietly, and in sylence, for eschuenge of further infectyon, and suche inconvenyencye as maye otherwise ensue in this p^{ar}te. Wherof faylle yo^{ur}e not, as ye tendere our pleasure."

(2) Godwin, Torr. p. 473.—Drake, p. 453.

abroad, and sat in the council of Trent, and died at Louvain, Nov. 22d, 1565, a zealous Romanist, but not of persecuting principles. (1) On his deprivation succeeded

EDWIN SANDYS, D. D. descended from an ancient family of the Sandyses of Bees, in Cumberland; he was son of William Sandys of Eastwaite Furness, (2) in Lancashire, a justice of the peace, and king's receiver of that county; educated at Cambridge, and promoted to be master of Catherine hall, and vice-chancellor of that university. When the Duke of Northumberland came there to oppose Queen Mary, in defence of Queen Jane's right to the crown, he commanded the vice-chancellor (Sandys) to assert the justice of her cause in a sermon; which he did, but in such decent terms, that, notwithstanding they were both seized and imprisoned, and the duke in the event lost his life, Dr. Sandys was discharged, after twenty-nine weeks imprisonment, and fled with his wife into Germany; but was deprived of his offices in the university, and likewise divested of his prebends in the churches of Carlisle and Peterborough. (3) On the death of Queen Mary he returned to England, and was greatly assisting in preparing the book of Common Prayer, in the translation of the Bible, and in the reformation of the church under Queen Elizabeth, who soon promoted him to this see. He sat here with great reputation. (4) In 1570 he was translated from hence to the see of London, which he would willingly have avoided, being easy at Worcester. And from thence was advanced to the see of York in 1576; in both which sees he was successor to Grindal. He died at Southwell, July 10th, 1588, in which collegiate church he lies buried, in the north corner of the choir, under a handsome monument, on which his effigy is laid; and his children are

(1) Strype's Hist. Ref. p. 146.—B. Willis, vol. II. p. 646.

(2) Hawkeshead, the fourth market-town in Furness, is the birth-place of Archbishop Sandys, who founded there a grammar school, and made the church parochial; in which his father and mother have a tomb. [Gough's Additions to Camden, in Lancashire, vol. III. p. 143.]

(3) Strype's Annals of the Ref. vol. II. p. 422.

(4) Sir John Bourne of Batenhale, near Worcester, who had been one of the principal secretaries of state in Queen Mary's reign, and looked with an evil eye on the Reformation, took an envious pleasure in disturbing the quiet of this bishop. His turbulent behaviour drew on him the displeasure of the lords of the privy council; who committed him to the Marshalsea; but released him on his humble submission. [See Strype's Annals of the Ref. vol. I. p. 386—403.] Fuller remarks, [Book ix. p. 197.] it is hard to say whether Archbishop Sandys was more eminent in his own virtues, or more happy in his flourishing posterity. In 1562, during his prelacy at Worcester, the corn rent was restored to the college. [Bishop Blandford's MS.]

represented kneeling. (1) Upon his removal to London, the queen nominated

DR. JAMES CALFHILL, canon of Christchurch, Oxford, dean of Bocking in Essex, and archdeacon of Colchester, to succeed him; but he dying in August that year, before his consecration,

NICHOLAS BULLINGHAM, Bishop of Lincoln, was translated hither. He was a native of Worcester, and educated in All Souls college, Oxford, where he took a degree in law in 1536. He was afterwards archdeacon of Lincoln, and became that bishop's vicar-general. When Queen Mary began her reign, he absconded, and applied himself to the study of divinity; and on Queen Elizabeth's accession, he became doctor of his faculty at Cambridge, and was appointed a judge ecclesiastical in the court of the Archbishop of Canterbury. In 1559 he was promoted to the see of Lincoln; and in 1570 was translated from thence to Worcester. (2) He died here, much respected, anno 1576, and lies interred on the north side of the high altar in this cathedral. To him succeeded

JOHN WHITGIFT, D. D. master of Trinity college, Cambridge, nominated 1576 to this bishopric, and confirmed 1577. He was descended of the family of the Whitgifts of Whitgift, a village in Marshland, Yorkshire, (3) born at Great Grimsby in Lincolnshire, and educated in Pembroke hall, Cambridge, under the tuition of the famous martyr John Bradford. When young, he was appointed Margaret's professor of divinity at Cambridge, distinguished himself greatly in that chair, and made the way by his merit into higher preferments, and amongst these had the deanry of Lincoln conferred upon him in 1571. His writings were in great esteem: he supported the controversy against the puritans with great spirit. The year after his episcopal consecration, the queen made him vice-president of the Marches of Wales: and from a confidence in his well known integrity, she gave him commission to visit the cathedral churches of Litchfield and Hereford, and regulate some disorders in them, of which complaint had been made to her, and which were by him reformed. (4) She farther honoured him with a grant of collating to all the prebends in his own cathedral. And in September, 1583,

(1) See the Plate, Drake's York, p. 456. See also Torr. Willis, vol. I. p. 48, 49, and 646.

(2) Wood, Athen. Oxon. vol. I. p. 702. (3) Camden in W. Rid. Yorkshire, p. 35; Gough's ed.

(4) Sir G. Paul's Life of Whitgift, p. 30, &c..

translated him from hence to Canterbury. This see remained void from that time till October in the year following, when

EDMUND FREAKE, D. D. then Bishop of Norwich, was nominated to it. He was a native of Essex, had his education in Cambridge, was great almoner to Queen Elizabeth, and had passed through several ecclesiastical dignities, among which he was archdeacon of Canterbury in 1564, before he came to the deanry of Salisbury; to which was added the bishopric of Rochester, being consecrated thereto on the 13th, and enthroned in person on the 22d of March, 1571; (1) whence he was translated to Norwich, 1575, and from Norwich hither, where he died, 1591; and lies buried in the south ile of the body of this cathedral. (2) He approved himself a zealous assertor of the church discipline, and bore the character of a pious and well qualified divine. The see again lay void till January, 1592-3, when the dean and chapter, pursuant to the queen's congé, elected

RICHARD FLETCHER, then Bishop of Bristol. He was bred at Benet college, Cambridge. In 1583 he was made dean of Peterborough; and in 1586-7, was present with Mary Queen of Scots, when she suffered death in Fotheringay castle, in Northamptonshire. (3) In 1589, he was made Bishop of Bristol, and about the same time almoner to the queen: from thence he was promoted to this see, where he continued till January, 1594-5, when he was translated to the bishopric of London, where he died suddenly, 1596, and was buried in St. George's chapel in St. Paul's, as it stood before the conflagration, 1666. This see remained vacant almost two years, when it was filled by

THOMAS BILSON, D. D. a native of Winchester, great grandson of Arnold Bilson, a German, whose wife is said to have been daughter of a duke of Bavaria. He was educated at New college, Oxford; and 1565 admitted fellow on that foundation. From being master of the school at Winchester, he rose to be warden of the college there. June 13th, 1596, he was consecrated for the see of Worcester, in which he sat but a short time, being next year trans-

(1) Hist. of Rochester, p. 159.

(2) See a description of his tomb, p. 88.

(3) See his teasing speech to her on the scaffold, in Strype's Annals of Queen Elizabeth, vol. III. p. 385. As soon as her majesty's head had fallen from the block, he cried out, "So may all the enemies of Queen Elizabeth perish!" The contrast between Fletcher's conduct on this occasion, and that of Feckenham, dean of St. Paul's, on a similar duty at the death of Lady Jane Grey, is both striking and affecting; and the humanity of the protestant divine stands much lessened in the comparison.

lated to that of Winchester. His merit ranks him with the most eminent of the bishops of Queen Elizabeth's time: he was a master in civil as well as ecclesiastical literature, and wrote in a more clear and elegant stile than any of the divines his cotemporaries. The care of revising and putting the last hand to our present version of the Bible was, in the next reign, committed to this learned prelate, and Dr. Miles Smith. He died in 1616, and was buried on the south side of Westminster abbey, near the monument of King Richard II. not far from the entrance of St. Edmund's chapel. (1) His successor in this see was the then Bishop of Exeter,

GERVASE BABINGTON, D. D. descended of the family of the Babingtons, in Nottinghamshire. He had been fellow of Trinity college, Cambridge, domestic chaplain to Henry Earl of Pembroke, whose countess he was supposed to have assisted in her translation of the Psalms. By the earl's interest, in 1591, he was promoted to the see of Landaff, and four years after to that of Exeter; whence he was translated to Worcester. His life was exemplary; his preaching pathetic; but his theological writings are now in little esteem; as they abound with quibbles, quaint turns, and jingles on words; agreeable to the bad taste which then began to prevail. (2) He died of the jaundice at the palace of Worcester, 1610, and was buried in the cathedral without any monument. (3) His collection of books he bequeathed to the library here. He was succeeded by

HENRY PARRY, D. D. a native of Herefordshire; educated at Corpus Christi college in Oxford; translated to this see from that of Gloucester, where he had sat three years. He had been dean of Chester: he died of a palsy at Worcester, Dec. 12th, 1616, and was buried in the cathedral. To him succeeded,

JOHN THORNBOROUGH, Bishop of Bristol: he was born at Salisbury, educated at Magdalen college, Oxford; he obtained a chaplainship at court, and in 1589, the deanry of York. In 1593 he was consecrated bishop in Ireland for the see of Limerick; ten years after, was removed to that of Bristol, with leave to keep the deanry of York in commendam. He was a great adept in chemistry, and wrote a tract about the philosopher's stone. Death

(1) Gale's Hist. Winchester Cath. p. 105.
and character in Fuller, B. x. p. 56.

was exactly the same with that of his bishopric.

(2) Godwin de Præsul. Angl. See his death
(3) It is remarked that this bishop's paternal coat of arms

was in him the effect of extreme old age, in 1641. He lies interred in this cathedral. His successor in this see was

JOHN PRIDEAUX, regius professor of divinity, and rector of Exeter college, in Oxford. (1) He was in great esteem for his abilities in the professor's chair; and his controversial tracts in Latin had spread his fame into foreign countries. He had lately been appointed one of the sub-committee for religion, which was convened by the house of lords, and empowered to inquire into abuses and innovations, and to consult about the regulating and settling the church. (2) But nothing was effected by their deliberations; for when the bill against deans and chapters came to be agitated in parliament, the assembly broke up. He was a Devonshire man, of low extraction. In his youth, his highest ambition was to be promoted to the clerkship of a country parish: he laudably aspired, but met with a sore repulse; for a competitor outsung him. (3) To make him amends for this loss, a charitable lady supplied him with the means of qualifying himself for the pulpit; (4) and those talents, which could not enable him to vie with rustics in psalmody, opened him a way to the highest honours, both in the university and in the church. He was consecrated to the episcopal office, Dec. 19, 1641, in most unhappy times, when the very office was going to be suppressed; for, before the end of that month, the bishops lost their seats in parliament: and the sequestration of their revenues following within two years after, this high preferment proved of little advantage, and rather was a detriment to him. He was disrelished by the warm churchmen, but not less zealous in his attachment to the king than they; as appears from one exercise of his episcopal power, his pronouncing all those of his diocese, who took up arms against the king, excommunicate. This exposed him to be plundered; and he was at last reduced to such difficulties, as to sell his library for the support of his family. He ended his days at Breedon, in this county, July 29, 1650: and, probably had not died much poorer, had he lived and died clerk of the parish of Ugborow. (5)

The see lay vacant till the Restoration; when it was designed for Dr. Hammond, who, dying a month before the king's arrival,

(1) Fuller, B. iv. p. 102.

(2) Collier's Eccl. Hist.

(3) Prince's Worthies of Devon.

(4) In his highest elevation he forgot not this incident: and used to say, "If I could have been clerk of Ugborow, I should not have been bishop of Worcester." Prince, *ibid*.

(5) Dr. Nash observes, that the inscription on the flat gravestone under which he lies buried in the church of Breedon, seems to contradict the accounts which biographers give of his extreme poverty, and

GEORGE MORLEY, D. D. was nominated to the chapter, and consecrated bishop, Oct. 28, 1660. He was born in London, son of Francis Morley, Esq. educated at Christchurch, Oxford, and retained many years as chaplain in the family of Robert Earl of Carnarvon. In 1641, he was promoted from a studentship to a canonry, and afterwards to the deanry of Christchurch, though reputed at that time a favourer of Calvinism. It is certain, that he was unacceptable to the partizans of Archbishop Laud. One of his innocent jests was not easily forgiven at court. When he was asked, by a grave country gentleman, (seriously inquisitive about the tenets of different parties) "What the Arminians held?" he answered, pleasantly, that "they held all the best bishoprics and deanries in England." (1) In the beginning of 1648, he was deprived of his preferments by the then prevailing power. He continued as long with King Charles I. as any of his chaplains were permitted to attend him: he attended Lord Capel on the scaffold in 1649; and then left England to follow the fortunes of the exiled king. During his stay abroad, he passed some years at the Hague, as chaplain to the Queen of Bohemia; and some years at Antwerp, in the family of Sir Edward Hyde, afterwards Lord Clarendon. Upon the Restoration, he was first made dean of Christchurch, and then bishop of Worcester; and, in the space of two years, was translated to Winchester. His generous and public spirit was so well known, that when the king gave him the last mentioned bishopric, he said facetiously, but with truth, that "Morley would never be the richer for it." (2) Burnet says, he was extremely passionate, but otherwise of very exemplary life: Lord Clarendon represents him as a man of remarkable temper, and prudence in conversation. He lived to a great age. He was succeeded in the see of Worcester by

JOHN GAUDEN, D. D. who, in the year of the Restoration, had been made Bishop of Exeter. He was born in Essex; studied in both universities; and in the time of the civil war, was dean of Bocking. The merit he claimed at court now, was the being author of *Icon Basilike*; a work, of which good

of his being employed in the servile offices in the kitchen of Exeter college, Oxford, for a support. In the civil wars, his bishopric was sequestered, and he retired to Breedon, to his son-in-law Webb. In this distress, which he always bore with cheerfulness and good humour, he was obliged to sell his books and furniture in order to procure the necessaries of life. [Dr. Nash's *Worcestershire*, vol. I. p. 132. Art. "Breedon:" in which an engraving of the bishop's portrait is introduced.]

(1) *Life of Lord Clarendon* by himself, 8vo. I. p. 50.

(2) *Wood Athen. Oxon.*

critics have thought him incapable. (1) He was but four months in the possession of this see, a disease putting an end to his days, Sept. 20, 1662, at the palace in Worcester. Whereupon

JOHN EARLE, D. D. Dean of Westminster, and clerk of the closet, was nominated bishop, and consecrated in November the same year. As he continued not a full year in this see, I shall speak very briefly of him, though he ranks with the illustrious of his order. He was a native of York, had been fellow of Merton college, Oxford, and was placed near the person of the prince, afterwards Charles II. as his chaplain and sub-preceptor. He attended that prince in his exile; who, prompt as he was to suspect piety in others, revered it always in Dr. Earle. Lord Falkland and Lord Clarendon, eminent for their discernment of men, valued and caressed him. The character, which one of those noble writers has left us of him, is truly amiable. (2) He was translated from this see to Sarum. He died in University college, Oxford, Nov. 17, 1665, and lies buried near the high altar in the church of Merton college. (3) Succeeded here by

ROBERT SKINNER, D. D. Bishop of Oxford before the usurpation, and one

(1) The attempt to deprive the deceased monarch of the credit of having written this book, so reputable to his talents, was carried to the greatest lengths by his enemies, whose malice pursued him beyond the grave; and the pen of the immortal Milton was employed to that unworthy purpose: but his *Eikonoklastes*, printed in 1649, in answer to *Icon Basilike*, totally failed in its purpose, even at the time of its appearance, to persuade the world that it was not written by King Charles I. but by some royalist, to gain respect to his memory; and less partial posterity, having exercised their judgment upon its motives, have consigned the unfounded calumny to oblivion. Above twenty editions of the *Icon* were printed within a year after the king's death. The original MS. was nearly half completed before the king left Oxford to join the Scots: it was found in his cabinet, which fell into the hands of the parliament's army at Navesby fight; and was restored to him after he was brought to Hampton court, by the hand of Major Huntington, through the favour of General Fairfax, of whom he obtained it. It had been seen and read by Mr. Herbert, (afterwards created a baronet by Charles II.) and Mr. Levet, a page of the back stairs, who both attended the king in the Isle of Wight, and had seen him from time to time employed in adding to it, under its first title of "*Suspiria Regalia*." From this place, by the king's own orders, it was consigned to the press, through the hands of Dr. Bryan Duppa, then bishop of Salisbury; from whom the Rev. Edward Simmons delivered it, 23d December, to Mr. Richard Royston, a bookseller in Ivy-lane, London; to whom his majesty had before sent to prepare all things ready to print some papers, which were shortly to be conveyed to him, and which was this copy. Royston made such speed with the printing, that it was finished before the death of the king, the 30th of January following. The learned Mr. Wagstaff has finally, by a multitude of unexceptionable testimonies, proved, beyond a possibility of doubt, his majesty's being the true author of the *Icon*, and put an end to the controversy for ever. [See Carte's *Hist. of Eng.* vol. IV. p. 606. Dugdale's *View of the late Troubles in Eng.* p. 380, 381. See also Walton's *Life of Dr. Sanderson*; Grey's *Hudibras*; Neale's *Hist. of the Puritans*; Warburton, and others.

(2) See the *Life of Lord Clarendon*.

(3) Drake's *York*, p. 379. Willis's *Cath.* vol. I. p. 625.

of the few prelates of the last reign who lived to be re-established in their former sees. He was born in Northamptonshire; educated at Trinity college, in Oxford, where he became an eminent tutor; consecrated the first bishop for the see of Bristol 1636, and, in 1641, removed to that of Oxford. He joined with eleven of his brethren in a protest against the proceedings of the parliament; for which they were all arraigned of high treason, and ten of them committed to the Tower. He was confined there seventeen months. His sufferings taught him to temporize: for, when deprived of his bishopric, he complied with the new ordinances so far, as to preserve his rectory of Launton, in Oxfordshire, till episcopacy itself was restored. He died at the age of fourscore, and was buried in this cathedral. (1) Whereupon another bishop of Oxford,

WALTER BLANDFORD, D. D. was translated to this see. He had been warden of Wadham college, in which he kept his fellowship during the whole time of the usurpation; was chaplain to lord Clarendon; vice-chancellor of the university; and, in 1665, was promoted to the bishopric of Oxford. He died unmarried, at the palace in Worcester, July 9, 1675, aged 59, and was succeeded by

JAMES FLEETWOOD, D. D. at that time provost of King's college, Cambridge. He was born in Buckinghamshire, descended from a genteel family in Lancashire, and nearly related to the colonel of that name, one of the judges who presided at the trial of Charles I. and who commanded under Oliver Cromwell at the battle of Worcester. He was educated at Eton school, and the abovementioned college; and was first preferred to the vicarage of Prees, in Shropshire; whence being driven, by a republican garrison in that neighbourhood, he accepted of a chaplainship to one of the king's regiments; and, in the battle of Edge-hill, performed grateful service, by carrying off the young princes to a place of safety. For this mark of loyal attention, he was, by the special command of the king, honoured with the degree of doctor of divinity, appointed chaplain to Charles Prince of Wales, and presented to the rectory of Sutton Colfield, in Warwickshire, which was given him immediately after; but which the violence of the times soon forced from him. He employed himself till the Restoration as private tutor to young noblemen: at that period, he was advanced to the provostship of King's college. He had the care of the education of the young Earls of Litchfield,

(1) Matthew, the eldest son of bishop Skinner, had an estate in Oxfordshire, and was returned, in 1660, to be one of the gentlemen qualified for knights of the royal oak.

Kildare, and Stirling; and was afterwards tutor to Esme, Duke of Richmond and Lenox, and to Charles, who succeeded to those ducal honours; with the former of those dukes he retired into France, and returned at the Restoration, when King Charles II. in reward for his sufferings, gave him many preferments, and ultimately the bishopric of Worcester; on his advancement to which, he resigned the provostship of King's college. (1) The remainder of his days he spent chiefly in his diocese, both doing himself and exhorting others to do good. He died in his 81st year, July 17, 1683, and lies buried in this cathedral. His successor was

WILLIAM THOMAS, D. D. Bishop of St. David's and Dean of Worcester. (2) He was born at Bristol; educated at Jesus' college, Oxford; had a vicarage before the civil war; and, upon the sequestration of it, subsisted by teaching a school in Caermarthenshire. On the restoration of the royal family, he was appointed one of the chaplains to the Duke of York. In 1665, he was installed dean of this church; and, in 1678, consecrated bishop of St. David's, with permission to hold the deanry in commendam. He quitted these preferments for the bishopric of Worcester; a station, in which he conducted himself in difficult times with great reputation of integrity. His steadiness in the protestant cause withdrew from him the favour of King James: and his affection to his old master brought him under difficulties at the Revolution. On his refusing the oaths to King William, he was suspended; but died, June 25, 1689, before deprivation, which otherwise must have ensued. (3) Upon this vacancy

EDWARD STILLINGFLEET, D. D. was called to this see; a divine of great renown. He was descended of an ancient family. Dorsetshire has the honour of his birth; the college of St. John's, in Cambridge, of his education. His first preferment was the rectory of Sutton, conferred on him 1657, by Sir Roger Burgoine, in Bedfordshire. But his best patron was his own pen; which gained him early fame, numerous friends, and rotation of preferments. We find him preacher at the Rolls, rector of St. Andrew's, Holborn, lecturer at the Temple, chaplain in ordinary to the king, prebendary of Canterbury, residentiary of St. Paul's, and, in the year 1678, dean of that cathedral. He was well versed in all branches of antiquity; had no equal

(1) Noble's Memoirs of the Cromwell House, vol. II. p. 350, 351. Vid. Cott. MSS. vol. XV. p. 93.

(2) Cott. MSS. vol. X. p. 130.

(3) See Dr. Nash, vol. II. in Appendix, p. 158. an interesting detail of the life of this excellent bishop.

in ecclesiastical learning ; an elegant preacher ; a masterly disputant ; exercised in several controversies of note, and with high reputation of advantage ; a vigorous combatant with papists, dissenters, and socinians ; and no unequal opponent to the great Mr. Locke. He may be accounted the Bellarmine of the church of England. This extraordinary man was consecrated Bishop of Worcester, Oct. 13, 1689. His application to his studies impaired his health so much, as to render him unfit for the metropolitan see, to which Queen Mary was desirous of advancing him, upon the death of Archbishop Tillotson. He died, March 27, 1699, at his house in Westminster, in his 64th year ; and was buried in this cathedral. I have spoken already of his monument ; but his books, especially his *Origines Sacræ*, are his noblest and most lasting memorial. (1) His successor at Worcester was

WILLIAM LLOYD, D. D. Bishop of Litchfield and Coventry. He was of Welch parentage ; the son of Richard Lloyd, B. D. vicar of Sunning, and rector of Tylehurst, in Berkshire ; first commoner of Oriel college, Oxford ; afterwards of Jesus' college, where he became scholar and fellow ; B. A. 1642 ; M. A. 1646. He began to distinguish himself in 1667, by the first of his writings against popery ; and was successively prebendary of Ripon, rector of St. Martin's, Reading ; archdeacon of Merioneth, 1668 ; dean of Bangor, 1673 ; then residentiary of Sarum ; next, called to a more important pastoral care, that of St. Martin's in the fields, Westminster. In this station his sermons were much celebrated. He was made bishop of St. Asaph, 1680 ; committed, with six other prelates, to the Tower, by King James, in 1688 ; tried in Westminster-hall for the pretended offence, and gloriously discharged. King William and Queen Mary made him their lord almoner ; and translated him to the see of Litchfield and Coventry, 1692 ; from which Worcester received him. (2) He died at Hartlebury, Aug. 30, 1717, aged 90, and was buried in the church of Fladbury, of which his only son was rector. (3) He was the most eminent chronologer of his time.

(1) See his many excellent works, and his life in the *Biographia Britannica*.

(2) In the election for the county, in 1702, the bishop and his son, Mr. Lloyd, opposing the interest of Sir John Pakington, by an interference that was voted in the house of commons, "a malicious, unchristian, and arbitrary proceeding, in high violation of the liberties and privileges of the commons of England." On their address to the throne, the bishop was removed from his place of almoner to Queen Anne ; and the Attorney General was ordered to prosecute Mr. Lloyd, after his privilege as a member of the lower house of convocation was expired. [See *State Trials*, vol. VIII. p. 82. *Law of Elections*, p. 193, 194. and *Dr. Nash*, vol. I. p. 450.]

(3) Two contemporary bishops of the same name, *William Lloyd*, have, by several writers, been mis-

Marshal's Chronological Tables being entirely extracted from his manuscript, ought rather to be called Bishop Lloyd's Tables. Burnet represents him as a holy, humble, and patient man, ever ready to do good when he saw an opportunity; even his love of study not diverting him from this. His successor in the see of Litchfield was also his successor at Worcester, the famous

JOHN HOUGH, a bishop after the primitive model. In his younger years he was educated at Warsal school, in Staffordshire; admitted fellow of Magdalen college, Oxford; chaplain to the old Duke of Ormond, and collated to a prebend in the church of Worcester, before the memorable election of him to the presidentship of his own college. At his first entrance into the world, he distinguished himself by a zeal for the liberty of his country, and had a considerable share in bringing on the Revolution that preserved it. His ejection from his college, and the deprivation of twenty-six of its fellows, who adhered to him, were among the violences of a despotic reign. The Revolution replaced him in the government of his college; to which King William, A. D. 1690, added the bishopric of Oxford, allowing him to hold them together; and translated him, A. D. 1717, to Litchfield: whence, in 1699, King George I. removed him to Worcester. But his principles never altered by his preferment. He never prostituted his pen, nor debased his character by party disputes, or blind compliance. Though warmly serious in the belief of his religion, he was moderate to all who differed from him: he knew no distinction of party, but extended his good offices alike to Whig and Tory; a friend to virtue under any denomination; an enemy to vice under any colours. His health and old age were the effects of a temperate life, and a quiet conscience. The mild and amiable character of this prelate cannot be too much admired, or too much extolled. His conversation, as well as his familiar letters, at the close of his life, (1)

^taken for the same person. William Lloyd, born 1637, at Llangower, in the county of Merioneth (where his father was minister); admitted, 1654, from Ruthin school to St. John's college, Cambridge; M. A. 1662; S. T. P. per literas regias, 1670; vicar of Battersea, chaplain to Lord Treasurer Clifford; Bishop of Landaff, 1675; Peterborough, 1679; Norwich, 1685: deprived Feb. 1, 1690-91, for not taking the oaths to King William and Queen Mary; died in retirement, at Hammersmith, Jan. 1, 1709-10, aged 72.

(1) Every relic of the good and just is venerable with posterity. The following letter, if not really the last, must be nearly so, of which the world is in possession from the pen of this most excellent man. It was written to Lord Digby, April 13th, 1743, three weeks before the death of the bishop.

“ My Lord,

“ I think myself very much obliged to your lordship's nephew for his kind visit; whereby I have a more authentic account of your lordship's health than is usually brought me by report; and an opportu-

had the cheerfulness and spirit of youth. During his last years he confined himself chiefly to his diocese, and laid out his large revenues in hospitality and charity, yet without ostentation. He was a genuine patriot; the delight of the church; a thorn in the side of oppression; a pillar of religion; a father of the indigent; and a friend to all. He died universally beloved and universally lamented, May 8, 1743, in the 93d year of his age, and lies interred in our Lady's chapel, in this cathedral. This worthy prelate, whom, as the ideal Persian (1) says, nobody ever thought lived too long, unless it was out of an impatience to succeed him, has exceeded all others of the English bishops in the years of his consecration, which, at the time of his death, was the fifty-third, being two years more than that of Archbishop Bourchier, already noticed. He was succeeded by

ISAAC MADOX, D. D. Bishop of St. Asaph. He was born in London: had his academical education first in Scotland, afterwards at Queen's college, Oxford; was admitted chaplain to Dr. Waddington, bishop of Chichester; promoted to the rectory of St. Vedast, in Foster-lane, London; and appointed, by Queen Caroline, to be clerk of her closet. In 1734, he was made dean of Wells; in 1736, bishop of St. Asaph; and in November, 1743, was translated to the see of Worcester. His tract, wherein he vindicates the spirit and plan of the great conductors of the Reformation, under Queen Elizabeth, against the injurious reflections of Mr. Neal, is a lasting monument of his diligence and discernment. (2) But we injure his character, if we

nity of informing myself in many particulars relating to your noble house, and the good family at Woodcote; which I hear, with uncommon pleasure, by one who hath been no stranger to them.

"Mr. Cotes is blessed in his children; all whose sons are not only deserving, but prosperous: and I am glad to see one of them devoted to the service of God; he may not, perhaps, have chosen the most likely employment to thrive by; but he depends on a master who never fails to recompence them that trust in him above their hopes.

"The young gentleman will account to your lordship for Hartlebury. But I fancy you will expect me to say something of myself; and therefore presume to tell you, my hearing hath long since failed. I am weak and forgetful; having as little inclination to business as ability to perform it. In other respects I have ease, if it may not be more properly called indolence, to a degree beyond what I durst have thought on when years began to multiply upon me. I wait continually for a deliverance out of this life into a better, in humble confidence that, by the mercy of God, through the merits of his Son, I shall stand at the resurrection on his right hand. And when you, my lord, have ended those days that are to come, which, I pray, may be many and prosperous, and as innocent and exemplary as those that are past, I doubt not of our meeting in that state where the joys are renewable, and will always endure. I am your lordship's most obedient and ever affectionate servant,

J. WORCESTER."

(1) Lord Littleton, Persian Letters, No. LVII.

(2) Published 1735.

consider him only as an advocate for our establishment : he was an ornament to it. In his retirement, he was condescending, hospitable, open-hearted; in his public station, a patron of merit, and a warm friend to every scheme of useful charity. The infirmary of Worcester acknowledges in him its father. Several of the London hospitals were indebted to him for more than his contributions—his zealous services. He is said to have spent more than 1200*l.* in adorning his chapel at Hartlebury. (1) Happy in the veneration and love of clergy and laity, he presided here sixteen years; and dying at Hartlebury, Sept. 27, 1759, had interment in the cathedral in our Lady's chapel. He was succeeded by

JAMES JOHNSON, D. D. son of the Rev. James Johnson, rector of Milford, Suffolk; and grandson of George Johnson, Esq. of Bowden Park, Wilts, member of parliament for the Devises. He was of Westminster school, and from thence elected to a studentship of Christchurch. Some years after, he was appointed second master of that distinguished seminary, in which he had received his classical education. In the year 1748, he had the honour of attending King George II. to Hanover, as his chaplain; and the same year was made canon residentiary of St. Paul's. He attended the king a second time to Hanover, 1752; and in the course of that year, was promoted to the see of Gloucester; and from thence was translated to Worcester, Nov. 9, 1759. He greatly improved and embellished the episcopal house at Hartlebury, and made some valuable additions to that of Worcester, at an expence exceeding 5000*l.* He also added to the patronage of his successors the rectory of Ricard's castle, in the diocese of Hereford. He was remarkable for an uniform sweetness of temper, which constantly displayed itself in placid and cheerful affability, and in condescending acts of benevolence. He died at Bath (very much lamented) in consequence of a fall from his horse, 1774, and was buried with his ancestors at Laycock, in Wiltshire; but an elegant monument has been erected to his memory in the cathedral church of Worcester, by his only surviving sister, Mrs. Sarah Johnson. (2) The next in episcopal succession was

(1) It ought to be recorded, to the honour of this worthy prelate, that in the year 1758, he informed his clergy, by the archdeacon, that he would every year, as long as he should live, assign 200*l.* to the improvement of small livings within the diocese; a benefaction which would entitle every poor incumbent who should receive it, to 200*l.* more from the governors of Queen Anne's bounty. But death deprived the clergy of his liberality, after his benefaction had been once bestowed, and the concomitant addition procured.

(2) See the Plate, sect. VII. and ref. No. 41. in the Plan of the Cathedral.

The honourable BROWNLOW NORTH, LL. D. half brother to the deceased Frederick, late Earl of Guilford, first lord of the treasury, and chancellor of the exchequer. He was educated at Eton school, and Trinity college, Oxford; from whence he was elected to a fellowship of All Souls college. He was afterwards preferred to a canonry of Christchurch; and in the year 1770, was advanced to the deanry of Canterbury, and 1771, to the bishopric of Litchfield and Coventry. He was translated and confirmed in the see of Worcester 30th December, 1774; and removed to that of Winchester, 1781. In the year 1778, his lordship promoted an institution for the benefit of the widows and orphans of poor clergymen belonging to this diocese, in aid of the charity derived to them from the music meetings; (1) and also for the relief of aged and infirm incumbents of small livings, and of curates with large families; an institution which annually administers to the comfort of many. He was succeeded here by his successor at Litchfield and Coventry,

RICHARD HURD, D. D. confirmed in this see June 30, 1781, to the general and heartfelt satisfaction of the whole county and diocese. Penkford, in Staffordshire, has the distinction of his birth. After becoming fellow of Emanuel college, Cambridge, he was appointed archdeacon of Gloucester; assistant preacher at the Rolls chapel, with bishop Warburton; clerk of the closet; and, whilst bishop of Litchfield, had the honour of being tutor to his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales. Of this excellent and highly venerated prelate, it only becomes us at present to add, that his eminent learning, his critical, moral, and theological works, have gained him the esteem and the applause of all men of true taste and virtue; and his benevolence, politeness, and charity, have peculiarly endeared him to the diocese over which he so exemplarily presides. Hartlebury castle, for many centuries past the ancient residence of his predecessors, owes to his lordship's munificence and refined taste, the most valuable ornament it could receive—a noble and elegant library,—which he is furnishing with a select and well chosen collection of books (among which is the principal part of Mr. Pope's, and of the late Bishop Warburton's) for the use and benefit of the future bishops of the see of Worcester. Such is the venerable successor to a long series of prelates, illustrious by their station, and many of them yet more so by the brightness of their characters.

(1) See Sect. XX.

SECT. IX.

A CATALOGUE OF THE PRIORS, TO THE DISSOLUTION OF ST. MARY'S
MONASTERY.

THE church of Worcester, was originally founded, as has been shewn, (1) for a bishop and his clerical family, or college of domestic priests; over whom he placed a provost. These conducted the cathedral service from the time the bishop's see was first placed here by King Ethelred, A. D. 680, till St. Oswald, afterwards brought in Benedictine monks in their room, under the government of a prior. When the administration of the church, and its revenues, were thus transferred from secular hands to those of regulars, and, in lieu of a college, a monastery had been annexed to the cathedral, it received for its first prior,

WINSY, Winsige, or Winsinus, (2) a secular clerk of the old college, and priest of St. Helen's in this city. (3) Bishop Oswald sent him to the monastery of Ramsey, in Huntingdonshire, to perform his noviciate, and be instructed in monastic discipline, whence he recalled him in three years, and instated him in the priorship. He died before 987, and was succeeded by

ÆTHELSTAN, 986, who died between 992 and 996.

ÆTHELSINUS, or Æthelsige.

ÆTHELSIN II.

GODWIN.

ÆTHELWIN, or Agelwin, who was living in 1051.

ST. WULSTAN, who was made prior by Bishop Aldred. He was much encouraged by the beneficence of Earl Leofric, and his lady Godiva; and among other works for the benefit of the church of Worcester, built a tower for the bells. (4) He was made bishop in 1062; under which title he is spoken of in the account of the bishops of this see.

1062, ÆLFSTAN, brother of St. Wulstan. He improved the revenues

(1) See Sect. III. p. 22. (2) He and his successors are, in ancient writings, not always stiled Priors, but sometimes Primus Præpositus, or deans. (3) Angl. Sac. 546, 472.

(4) This must have been the base of the leaden spire or clochium, already treated of in Sect. IV. p. 42, 43. Angl. Sac. p. 474. Willis's Abbies, vol. I. p. 306.

of the church by the purchase of the manors of Lene, Bunhamsted, and Peceslea. (1)

ÆGELRED, sub-prior and chantor in the church of Canterbury.

THOMAS, prior of Westbury. He subscribes as prior of Worcester, the first witness to St. Wulstan's grant of Alvestune to this monastery, A. D. 1084.

1113. NICHOLAS, made prior by bishop Theobald.

1124. GUARIN; William of Malmsbury says this prior wrote the life of St. Wulstan, about the year 1140.

1143. RALPH, who died the same year.

1143. DAVID. He was deposed.

1145. OSBERT, or Osbern.

1146. RALPH DE BEDEFORD; of whom this is remarkable; that, during his priorship, he elected and presented to the archbishop to be consecrated, five successive bishops of Worcester, viz. John de Pageham, 1150. Alured, 1158. Roger, 1163. Baldwin, 1180. And William de Norhale, 1185. He was succeeded by

SENATUS, precentor of this convent, in 1189, who voluntarily resigned his priorship.

1196. PETER, a monk of this church. He was deposed.

1203. RANDULF DE EVESHAM, who, in 1213, was chosen bishop of Worcester; but being obliged by Nicholas, the Pope's legate, to decline that high trust, was soon after made abbat of Evesham; (2) and was succeeded in his priorship by

SYLVESTER DE EVESHAM, 1215, who was made bishop of Worcester.

1216. SIMON. He was deposed by bishop William de Blois, and excommunicated; on which he appealed to the Pope, but died before the cause was ended.

1222. WILLIAM NORMAN, Prior of Malvern, whose nomination by the bishop, without the consent of the convent, was the occasion of a controversy of two years continuance between them, which ended in the deposition of Norman; but, in lieu of his priorship, he had, by the unanimous consent of the arbitrators to whom this cause was referred, the manor of Clive for his life, exclusive of tithes to be paid to the convent. And, with respect to future elections, it was resolved, that the convent, upon the vacancy of the priorship, should present to the bishop seven of their own

(1) Angl. Sac. p. 547.

(2) Tindal's Hist. of Evesham Abbey, p. 23.

monks, out of whom he was to choose one for their prior, and such his choice should be absolute. (1) On this plan were nominated the succeeding priors.

1224. WILLIAM DE BEDEFORD, originally a monk of St. Alban's, and afterwards prior of Tinmouth. He built, in 1225, a new house, with offices adjacent, for the residence of the priors. (2)

1242 RICHARD GUNDICOTE, sacrist of this church; who had a dispute with the abbat of Evesham, about common of pasture in certain lordships; which was at length determined at Evesham, to this effect; the abbat and his tenants to enjoy it from Christmas to Michaelmas yearly, and the prior and convent the other part yearly. His successor was

THOMAS, in 1252, who had been sub-prior thirty-two years. He was succeeded on his death by

RICHARD DUMBLETON, 1260. In his time the chapter of Worcester compounded with Boniface, Archbishop of Canterbury, about the exercise of the bishop's jurisdiction, when the see of Worcester should happen to be vacant. (3) This prior dying in 1272, was buried in the cloisters, near his predecessors. His successor was

WILLIAM of Cirencester, 1272, before sacrist of the church.

1274. RICHARD FECKENHAM, chamberlain of this church.

1287. PHILIP AUBIN, sub-prior.

1296. SIMON DE WIRE, or Wircestre, sub-prior, who resigned.

1301. JOHN DE LA WYKE, sub-prior. His successor was

WOLSTAN DE BRAUNSFORD. He is said to have built a bridge over the Teme at Braunsford, near Worcester, the place of his nativity. He was chosen by the monks of this church to succeed Thomas Cobham in this see, 1327, but was not consecrated till he was rechosen for Bishop Hemenhale's successor, 1339; under which head I have spoken of him. He was succeeded by

SIMON DE BOTILER, 1339, who died the same year.

1339. SIMON CROMPE.

1340. JOHN DE EVESHAM, bachelor of divinity. He obtained a bull of Pope Clement VI. dated 8 Jan. 1351, for himself and his successors to be allowed the use of the mitre and pastoral staff; and another of Pope Urban V. dated 4th Feb. 1363, to the same effect. He died March 27, 1370, and

(1) See Sect. IV. p. 120.

(2) Ann. Wig.

(3) See Sect. IV. p. 120.

was buried in the north ile of the choir of this church. (1) His successor was

WALTER LEIGH, 1370, almoner of this church. In 1373, on the death of William Lynne, Bishop of Worcester, he was elected his successor by the convent, with the king's consent; but being set aside by the Pope, the see remained vacant for two years, during which the famous John Wicliff attempted to obtain it; but being disappointed, it gave occasion for him to write against the Pope, and to lay the foundation of his new doctrines in the church. (2)

1388. JOHN GREEN. (3)

1395. JOHN of MALVERN, sacrist. He was one of the English divines who were sent to the council of Constance, 1416. (4) He died before the year 1423; succeeded by

JOHN FORDHAM.

1438. THOMAS LEDBURY. He died 1443, and was buried in this cathedral.

1444. JOHN HERTILBURY.

1456. THOMAS MUSARD.

1469. ROBERT MULTON, cellarer of this monastery.

1492. WILLIAM WENLOKE, sacrist.

1499. THOMAS MILDENHAM, sacrist.

1507. JOHN WEDDESURY.

WILLIAM MOORE, sub-prior, chosen 1518; and, 1535, on the foresight of the ruin of the monastic orders, resigned it, and had the manors of Crowle and Grimley settled on him for life.

HENRY HOLBECH, alias Randes, D. D. was the last elected prior of Worcester; to which dignity he was raised by the king's licence 13th March, 1535.

(1) See an account of his tomb in the Appendix, p. xxxi. (2) *Angl. Sac.* p. 805, in Addenda. *Abingdon's Hist. of the Cath.* p. 123, 124. *Willis's Cath.* vol. I. p. 642. *Ibid. Abbies*, vol. I. p. 309.

(3) This prior, according to Walsingham, was chosen successor to Bishop Wakefield in this see, by the monks of Worcester; but Walsingham's authority stands unsupported here.

(4) *Holingshed*, anno 2 Henry V.

SECT. X.

THE SUCCESSION OF THE DEANS OF WORCESTER TO THE PRESENT TIME.

HENRY HOLBECH, who had presided as prior over the seminary of black monks in Cambridge, became first dean of Worcester. His election was enjoined by letters to the convent from King Henry VIII. In March, 1538, he was consecrated suffragan to the see of Worcester, by the title of Bishop of Bristol, and held this dignity with his priorship. Priories were now at their period. By his surrender of this convent and all its appertenances to the king, Jan. 18, 1540, monks were displaced from the church of Worcester, of which they had been possessed near 570 years; and the king settled in it prebendaries or secular canons in their stead; over whom Holbech, changing his title, presided as the first dean. (1) In 1544, he was made bishop of Rochester, where he was the successor of Bishop Heath, on his advancement to this see; and held the rectory of Bromsgrove, with the chapel of Norton, in commendam with that preferment. He was translated to Lincoln, 1547, (2) where he died A. D. 1551. He was succeeded in this deanry by

JOHN BARLOW, M. A. installed 1544, but was deprived, when Queen Mary came to the crown, for being a protestant, on which

PHILIP HAWFORD, alias Ballard, who, when very young, was made abbat of Evesham, on purpose to make a surrender of the abbey, and all its lordships, to the king; which service he performed in Nov. 1539, and was rewarded with a pension of 240*l.* per annum, and the rectory of Elmeley Lovet. Queen Mary gave him the deanry of Worcester in lieu of that pension. (3) He died 1557, and lies buried in the Dean's chapel in this cathedral. (4) To him succeeded

(1) Le Neve, fol. 301.

(2) Hist. of Roch. Cath. p. 155.

(3) He was the fifty-sixth and last abbat of Evesham, in succession to Clement Litchfield, who resigned, and is supposed soon after to have died of grief for the dissolution and destruction of his abbey, to which he had but just added the beautiful tower, now standing as a portal to the churchyards of All Saints and St. Laurence at Evesham. [See Tindal's History of that abbey, p. 41.]

(4) See Ref. 25, in the Plan of the Cath. to an account of his stone coffin, in Sect. VII. p. 153.

SETH HOLLAND, 1557, chaplain to Cardinal Pole, (1) warden of All Souls college, Oxford; he was rector of Fladbury, which he resigned on his appointment to that of Cleeve Episcopi, co. Gloucester; he was also a prebendary in the second stall in this cathedral. On Queen Mary's death he was deprived of this deanry, 1st of Elizabeth, and died in the Marshalsea.

JOHN PEDOR, 1559, who, in Queen Mary's reign, had been in exile in Frankfort, was, by patent, advanced to this deanry, the revenues of which were much improved by his care. He died April 5th, 1571; and was interred (as I suppose) in the Dean's chapel in this cathedral, in which was a monument placed to his memory, but since gone. (2) He was succeeded by

THOMAS WILSON, D. D. educated in Trinity college Cambridge. He also had been an exile at Frankfort. On the accession of Queen Elizabeth he returned to his native country, and was appointed a prebendary in the seventh stall of this church, and chaplain to Bishop Sandys; who had been in exile at the same time in Frankfort. In the famous synod assembled at Westminster, January, 1562-3, to complete the restoration of the reformed church of England, he was chosen by the dean and chapter of Worcester as one of their proctors. On the 4th of May, 1571, the queen appointed him dean of Worcester; in which station he died July, 20th, 1586, and lies buried in the Dean's chapel. (3)

FRANCIS WILLIS, 1586, president of St. John's college, Oxford, a native and canon of Bristol. (4) He also lies interred in the above chapel. His successor was

RICHARD EEDES, S. T. P. 1596, canon of Christchurch, Oxford, chaplain to Queen Elizabeth, and King James. He was much admired for his preaching, and eminent for his learning and virtue. He died at Worcester, and lies buried in our Lady's chapel.

JAMES MOUNTAGUE, S. T. P. master of Sydney college Cambridge, succeeded him, 1604, and soon after his advancement to this deanry, was appointed dean of the king's chapel, bishop of Bath and Wells in 1608, and translated from thence to Winchester 1616; and dying 1618, was buried in the abbey church, Bath. (5) His successor in this deanry was

(1) See Life of Pole, Part II. p. 213.

(2) See Appendix to Sect. VII. No. VIII. p. xxxi.

(3) See Dr. Nash, Vol. II. Worc. inter p. 318, 319.

(4) The celebrated Brown Willis supposed himself related to this dean. [See his Cath. Vol. I. p. 658.]

(5) Dr. Hopkins's MS. in the Cott. lib. Cleopatra. E. V. p. 126.

ARTHUR LAKE, 1608, brother to Sir Thomas Lake, Knt. principal secretary of state to King James. He was fellow of New college Oxford, master of St. Cross, near Winchester, and archdeacon of Surrey. In 1616, he was translated to the bishopric of Bath and Wells. He was eminent for his learning, and esteemed one of the best textuaries of his time. He died 1626. Whilst he was dean of Worcester, he accomplished what was designed by Dean Eedes, the redemption of the Meadows. (1) His successor in this deanry was

JOSEPH HALL, D. D. 1616, archdeacon of Nottingham, and well known by his excellent writings; who being promoted to the see of Exeter, 1627, this deanry was given to

DR. WILLIAM JUXON, president of St. John's college Oxford, and clerk of the closet to Charles I. In 1633, he was made bishop of Hereford, and afterwards bishop of London; he was sworn of the privy council, and constituted lord treasurer, 1635. King Charles, from the high regard he had for this prelate, chose him to attend him in his last moments on the scaffold. That painful duty performed, he retired to his seat at Little Compton in Gloucestershire, where he continued till the Restoration. He was made Archbishop of Canterbury by Charles II. A. D. 1660, in reward of his virtues and his services. His moderation and amiable deportment gained him the esteem of all parties. He died at Lambeth, 4th of June, 1663, at the age of 81, and was buried in St. John's college, Oxford. (2) His successor in this deanry was

ROGER MANWARING, 1633, educated at the college school at Worcester, under Mr. Henry Bright. He was one of the most abject tools of power; he not only preached at court, but published two sermons, wherein he maintained, that "the king is not bound to observe the laws of the realm, relating to the rights and liberties of the subjects; but that his royal will and command, imposing on them loans and taxes, without common consent in parliament, doth oblige the conscience of the subjects, on pain of eternal damnation." It was the general desire of the nation to see such an apostle of slavery punished. He was arrested by order of the house of lords; and sentenced to make his submission at the bar of the houses; to pay a fine of 1000*l.* to be suspended from preaching for three years; and incapacitated from

(1) Dr. Hopkins's MS. (2) See Wood's Athen. Vol. II. p. 662. Sir Rob. Atkyns's Gloc. p. 192. Collier's Eccles. Hist. Vol. II. 6. IX. p. 761, 765.

holding any preferment. But the king granted him a full pardon, remitted the fine, and immediately preferred him to a rich benefice in Essex ; and, but a few years after, to the deanry of Worcester : and, as if all this was not sufficient for a service so meritorious, he advanced him, in 1635, to the see of St. David's. He died in privacy at Carmarthen, 1653, and was buried at Brecknock. His successor in this deanry was

CHRISTOPHER POTTER, D. D. 1636, who while fellow of Queen's college, Oxford, joined the puritans, and lectured at Abingdon in the Calvinistic way : when made provost of that college, he went over to the court divines, was appointed the king's chaplain in ordinary, and afterwards promoted to this deanry. He executed, at a very troublesome time, (in 1640) the office of vice-chancellor of the university. Upon the breaking out of the rebellion, he sent all the plate belonging to his college to the king, declaring, that like Diogenes, he would drink from the hollow of his hand, rather than his majesty should want. In the course of the war, he suffered much for the king's cause ; who, in recompence, conferred on him, in 1646, the deanry of Durham ; of which he never had possession, for he died at Oxford within two months after his nomination. He was a man of distinguished learning and exemplary life : but as he lived not to feel sequestration, or to struggle with want, is by no means entitled to the rank of a semi-martyr, in which he has been placed. (1) His successor,

RICHARD HOLDSWORTH, D. D. 1646, suffered a worse fate in those tempestuous times. He had been scholar and fellow of St. John's college Cambridge, master of Emanuel, and, in 1640, vice-chancellor of that university. He had other preferments, but was dispossessed of them all, by the prevalent usurpers ; shut up more than once in prison ; and greatly harassed. Soon after the execution of his majesty, being deeply affected at that blow, he died. (2) He never received any profits from this deanry, and was not even installed. After a vacancy of eleven years,

DR. JOHN OLIVER, 1660, president of Magdalen college, Oxford, was promoted to this deanry. He was originally of Merton college, but re-

(1) See Mag. Brit. vol. VI. page 307, 316. His monument is in Queen's college chapel, with a long inscription. He wrote against Knot, the Jesuit, whose reply produced Chillingworth's excellent book, "The Religion of the Protestants," &c.

(2) His death happened August 22d, 1649, and he was buried in St. Peter's Poor church, London. He is ranked among the semi-martyrs of these times. See Mag. Brit. vol. VI. p. 307,—316.

moving to Magdalen, was there demy and fellow, and at length president. The Earl of Clarendon, famous as an historian, and not less famous for the part he bears in history, was his pupil at Magdalen. He was deprived of his preferments for opposing the visitors of the university, and thereby reduced to the lowest ebb of fortune. About a fortnight before the king's restoration, he was reinstated in his college, by authority of the parliament; and soon after, through the interest of Lord Clarendon, was raised to this deanry, which he enjoyed not long; strangely desirous to leave this world, though few had greater inducements to stay in it, his desires were by providence granted him, Oct. 27, 1661. He was buried in Magdalen college chapel, Oxford, and had for his successor

THOMAS WARMESTRY, D. D. 1661, a native of Worcester, son of Gervas Warmestry, registry of this church. He was educated in Christchurch, Oxford. He represented the clergy of this country in two convocations, in one of which he made a speech, which he published, against images, altars, crosses, and the new canons. In the national combustion which broke out soon after, he retired to the king at Oxford, whence he removed to London; having, after all his moderation, which had gotten him the name of a puritan, been deprived of his preferments. But the Restoration of the king was also the restoration of his fortune; he being then advanced to a prebend of Gloucester, and afterwards to the deanry of Worcester. He died 1665, (1) and was succeeded by

DR. WILLIAM THOMAS, 1665; who, when promoted in 1678, to the bishopric of St. David's, held this deanry in commendam, but resigned it 1683, when made bishop of this see. I have already taken notice of him among the bishops of Worcester. His successor in the deanry was

GEORGE HICKES, D. D. installed 13th October, 1683. He was born in Yorkshire, educated at Oxford, and chosen there fellow of Lincoln college; whence he was called to be chaplain to the Duke of Lauderdale, and afterwards to the king; prebendary, and then dean of Worcester. He applied himself with success to the study of Gothic antiquities. His *Thesaurus of the old northern literature*, in folio, is celebrated by the learned both abroad and at home. During his government of this church, some useful regulations were made; as, the bringing copyholders to a regular way of fining;

(1) He lies buried in the body of the cathedral, in the middle ile, opposite the fifth pillar from the belfry.

the fixing, in concurrence with the bishop, stated terms of residence for the prebendaries ; and some constitutions for the better ordering of the king's school. Other improvements, which this dean had designed, the Revolution prevented ; at which time, refusing the oaths, and all concurrence in measures then taken for securing the church and state, he was deprived of his preferments, Feb. 1, 1691, (1) and would have been more severely persecuted, if he had not been sheltered by the patronage of Lord Somers.

WILLIAM TALBOT, A. M. was installed in this deanry, April 23, 1691, which Dr. Hickea opposed in vain by his protest, affixed to the great door of the choir ; wherein he maintained his claim of right to that dignity against Mr. Talbot, and all other persons whomsoever. This was called at court Dr. Hickea's Manifesto against the government ; and reduced him to the necessity of absconding, till Lord Somers obtained his pardon. Dean Talbot was born at Stourton castle, in Staffordshire, descended from the noble family of the Earls of Shrewsbury : in 1699, he was advanced to the bishopric of Oxford, with leave to hold this deanry in commendam ; which he resigned, in 1715, on his translation from the see of Oxford to that of Salisbury, in which he succeeded the celebrated Gilbert Burnet. He died, in 1730, bishop of Durham.—England will always boast of the lord chancellor, his son. The bishop's grandson, the right honourable Earl Talbot, presided over the royal household of his present Majesty till his death.

DR. FRANCIS HARE, fellow of Eton college, and canon-residentiary of St. Paul's, London, was installed dean of this church, in Bishop Talbot's room, April 27th, 1715. He had been chaplain general to the army in Flanders, under the victorious John Duke of Marlborough. He was promoted from hence to the deanry of St. Paul's ; and afterwards, filled successively the sees of St. Asaph and Chichester. His edition of the Hebrew Psalms, with notes, has raised him a lasting name in the learned world. On his removal from this church,

DR. JAMES STILLINGFLEET, a prebendary of it, and son of the late learned bishop, succeeded him. He was installed dean, 16 December, 1726, and presided in that station near twenty years, a man of strict honour and

(1) Dr. Hickea lived twenty-five years after in obscurity, and lies buried near the west end of St. Margaret's churchyard, Westminster, under a flat gravestone, the inscription on which is yet legible. He died 15th December; 1715, aged 74. [Willis's Cath. p. 661, vol. I.]

integrity, a sincere friend, an hospitable neighbour, and a worthy country gentleman. On his death, in September, 1746, he was succeeded by

Dr. EDMUND MARTIN, of Twickenham, canon of Windsor, who was installed here, 24 April, 1747. He enjoyed the deanry but a short time, dying in 1751: he was succeeded by

JOHN WAUGH, LL.D. son of the bishop of Carlisle, of which diocese he was chancellor. He was installed dean of Worcester, 14 Nov. 1751. His knowledge of the civil and common law was extensive; and very assisting to Dr. Burn in his useful publication on the Administration of Justice. During the siege of Carlisle, in 1745, Dr. Waugh was eminently useful to the king's forces; on which account he was preferred to this deanry, where he died, and was interred in the Lady's chapel, 1765. He was succeeded by

Sir RICHARD WROTTESLEY, Bart. LL.D. who was installed May 30th, 1765. This gentleman went late into the clerical order, having been a member of the house of commons, and held a place at the board of green cloth. He was father to the present Duchess of Grafton. He died 1769, and was succeeded by

WILLIAM DIGBY, LL.D. who was installed dean of this church Sept. 8, 1769. On his promotion to the deanry of Durham, his successor in this was

ROBERT FOLEY, D. D. brother of the late Thomas, Lord Foley. He enjoyed this dignity but little more than four years, having been installed Jan. 31, 1778, and having died 1783. He was succeeded by

The late honourable and reverend ST. ANDREW ST. JOHN, D. D. second son of John, tenth Lord St. John of Bletsoe, and brother to the present Countess of Coventry; he was installed in this deanry 29th March, 1783; and died 23d March, 1795. He lies interred beneath the great east window of the Lady's chapel in this cathedral. (1) (See Appendix, No. VIII. p. 25.) His successor is

The reverend ARTHUR ONSLOW, D. D. archdeacon of Berks, canon of Christchurch, and fellow of All Souls, Oxford; vicar of White Waltham in the diocese of Salisbury; installed 16th May, 1795. He is the youngest son of General Onslow, whose elder brother, the right hon. Arthur Onslow, was speaker of the house of commons above thirty years. The speaker was nephew of Sir Richard Onslow, created Baron Onslow, 1716. The speaker's son now inherits the title.

(1) See Ref. No. 67. in the Plan of the Cath. to the account of his monument, in Sect. VII.

SECT. XI.

A CATALOGUE OF THE PREBENDARIES OF WORCESTER.

CONCERNING the institution of the prebendaries, Chancellor Price says, he believes the omission of it might arise in the reign of James I.; for from the first year of his reign to the third of Charles I. reversions of them were granted when they next should become vacant; and he supposes, that, on a vacancy, the dean and chapter installed the person to whom it had been granted, and thus they became collations regals; but since the year 1688, they have been regularly instituted by the bishop of the diocese. (1) Of the ten prebends of this church, nine of them are in his Majesty's royal patronage, and one (the sixth) is annexed to the Margaret professorship of divinity in the university of Oxford, by act of parliament. These, with the deanry, pay, in lieu of first-fruits and tenths. 193*l.* 1*s.* 8*d.* (2)

FIRST STALL.

- Thomas Baggard, LL.D. appointed
by the foundation charter, Jan.
24, 1541.
1544 Robert Johnson, LL.B.
1558 William Norfolk, M. A.
1561 Thomas Herle, M. A.
1586 William Tovie, B. D.
1596 Richard Potter, B. D.
1628 Richard Steward.
1638 William Smith, D. D.
1660 John Bretton.
1675 William Hopkins, B. D.
1700 Miles Stapledon, D. D.
1731 Philip Smallridge, M. A. chan-
cellor of Worcester.
1751 Lewis Crusius, D. D.

SECOND STALL.

- 1541 Richard Browne, M. A.
1546 John Compton, alias Theale,
B. D. chancellor of Hereford.
1555 Seth Holland, M. A. He was,
A. D. 1557, made dean of Worces-
ter.
1457 Leonard Lingham, or Ling-
han, M. A.
1568 Richard Longworth, D. D. af-
terwards dean of Chester.
1579 John Longworth, D. D.
1613 John Hanmer, D. D.
1629 Giles Thornborough, M. A.
1664 William Owen, M. A.
1672 Henry Greisley, M. A.
1678 Joseph Glanville, M. A.

(1) Dr. Nash, in *Introductio*. p. 38. vol. I.(2) Bacon's *Liber Regis*, p. 963.

1680 Ralph Battell, M. A.
 1713 William Bramston, D. D.
 1735 Bernard Wilson, D. D.

1671 George Benson, D. D. afterwards dean of Hereford.

1692 Richard Bentley, M. A. the famous master of Trinity college, Cambridge.

THIRD STALL.

1541 Richard Ever, B. D.
 1558 Ralph Cockley.
 1558 Thomas Arden.
 1560 Lybbeus Byard.
 1570 John Bullingham, afterwards bishop of Gloucester.
 1581 Godfrey Goldsborough. He was also made bishop of Gloucester.
 1604 William Barksdale, M. A.
 1628 Stephen Boughton, M. A.
 1660 Barnabas Oley, M. A.
 1685 John Hough, M. A. afterwards bishop of Worcester.
 1690 Joseph Merrill, M. A.
 1700 William Galloway, M. A.
 1715 William Worth, D. D. archdeacon of Worcester.
 1742 Rice Williams, D. D.
 1767 Philip Duval, LL.B.
 1772 Gregory Parry, M. A.
 1785 William Langford, D. D.

1700 John Laughton, M. A.
 1714 William Lloyd, D. D. chancellor of this diocese.

1719 George Lavington, LL.B. afterwards bishop of Exeter.

1731 Samuel Green, M. A.

1747 Robert Eden, B. D.

1756 Benjamin Newcome, D. D.

1767 William Stockwood, M. A.

1768 William Arden, M. A.

1768 John Young, D. D.

FIFTH STALL.

1541 Gilbert Bourne, D. D. afterwards bishop of Bath and Wells.
 1558 Edmund Daniel ; also dean of Hereford.

1559 Robert Avis, M. A.

1581 Gilbert Backhouse, LL.B.

1597 Thos. Fenman, or Ferryman.

1619 Henry Bright, M. A. the famous master of the King's school at Worcester.

1627 Nathaniel Giles, D. D.

1660 Edward Reynolds, M. A.

1698 Sir William Dawes, Bart. D. D. afterwards archbishop of York.

1708 Robert Brabant, D. D.

1722 Benjamin Woodroof, M. A.

1726 Thomas Inett, M. A.

1748 John Dalton, D. D.

FOURTH STALL.

1541 Henry Jolliff, B. D. ; also dean of Bristol.
 1559 Sir Thomas Windebank, a layman.
 1607 John Archbold, D. D.
 1627 Francis Chartlet, M. A.
 1660 William Dowdswell, LL.D.

- 1763 William Jennings, B. D.
1788 Thomas Hughes, M. A.

SIXTH STALL.

- 1541 Roger Neckham, D. D. a monk of this church.
1557 William Turnbull, LL.D. who quitted it for the tenth prebend.
1558 Robert Shaw, B. D.
1560 Thomas Norley, M. A.
1577 John Ellis, M. A. ; also dean of Hereford.
1576 Richard Harris, M. A.
1616 Eustache Moor, B. D.
1628 Samuel Fell, D. D. afterwards dean of Christchurch, Oxon. (1)
1637 Thomas Laurence, D. D.
1660 Thomas Barlow, D. D. afterwards bishop of Lincoln.
1676 John Hall, D. D. afterwards bishop of Bristol.
1691 Henry Maurice, D. D.
1691 Thomas Sykes, S. T. D.
1705 John Wynne, B. D. afterwards bishop of St. Asaph.
1714 William Delaune, D. D.
1728 Thomas Jenner, D. D.
1768 Thomas Randolph, D. D.
- 1551 Richard Vernon.
1557 Richard Hall, M. A.
1560 Thomas Wilson, afterwards dean of Worcester.
1571 Griffith Lewis, D. D. also dean of Gloucester.
1607 John Chartlet, D. D.
1641 Herbert Croft, D. D. afterwards bishop of Hereford.
1661 Joseph Crowther, D. D.
1680 Jonathan Blagrove, M. A.
1698 James Stillingfleet, M. A. who resigned it for the deanry of Worcester.
1726 John Downes, M. A.
1737 Edward Stillingfleet, M. A.

EIGHTH STALL.

- 1541 Roger Sandford, B. D. a monk of this church.
1550 John Standish, D. D.
1554 Leonard Pollard, B. D.
1557 Thomas Bastarde, B. D.
1584 William Thornhill, M. A.
1626 Robert White, B. D.
1660 William Thornborough.
1680 George Hicks, D. D. afterwards dean of Worcester.
1683 John Jephcot, D. D.
1706 Edward Chandler, D. D. afterwards successively bishop of Litchfield and Durham.

SEVENTH STALL.

- 1541 James Lawerne, B. D. a monk of this church.

(1) In his time, by letters patent, dated July 5, 1628, anno 3 Caroli, this prebend was annexed to the office of Margaret professor of divinity, in the university of Oxford ; since which time it hath continued on the same footing : and all professors, as soon as elected by the university, have, without any presentation from the crown, been instated in this dignity.

- 1717 Richard Laughton, M. A.
 1723 John Holland, D. D.
 1735 Richard Meadowcourt, M. A.
 1760 Samuel Wolley, M. A.
 1764 The honourable Wm. Harley,
 M. A.
 1769 John James Majendie, D. D.

NINTH STALL.

- 1541 Humphry Webbely, B. D. a
 monk of this church.
 1551 John Harley, afterwards bi-
 shop of Hereford.
 1575 Arthur Dudley, alias Sutton.
 1576 Gerv. Carrington, LL.D.
 1611 Richard Thornton, D. D.
 1614 Robert Pritchard, M. A.
 1631 Anthony Tyringham, M. A.
 1660 George Glenn.

- 1669 Thomas Lamplugh, B. D. af-
 terwards archbishop of York.
 1674 William Hore, B. D.
 1687 John Cartwright, M. A.
 1708 Josiah Sanby, M. A.
 1743 Edwin Sandys, LL.B.

TENTH STALL.

- 1541 Richard Lisle, a monk of this
 church. (1)
 1558 Wm. Turnbull, LL.D. from
 the sixth prebend.
 1573 Thomas Thornton, D. D.
 1629 Nathaniel Tomkins, B. D.
 1681 John Conant, D. D.
 1694 George Walls, D. D.
 1727 William Byrche, LL.D. chan-
 cellor of this diocese.
 1741 Samuel Holcombe, M. A.

MEMBERS OF THE ECCLESIASTICAL COURT OF WORCESTER.

The most rev. Dr. John Moore,
 Lord Archbishop of Canterbury,
 primate of all England, and me-
 tropolitan.

The right rev. Richard Hurd, D. D.
 lord bishop of this diocese, ordi-
 nary, or judge.

The worshipful Sir William Burrell,
 Bart. LL.D. chancellor, or vicar
 general in spirituals, and official
 principal.

Surrogates.

Rev. Richard Baty, M. A.
 Rev. John Griffin, M. A.

Principal Registers.

Rev. James Stillingfleet, M. A.
 Richard Hurd, Gent.

Proctors.

James Palmore. George Holyoake.
 John Clifton, deputy register of the
 diocese.
 Henry Martin.

(1) The first prebendary of each stall was at the same time appointed by the new charter.

MEMBERS OF THE CATHEDRAL CHURCH OF WORCESTER.

The right rev. Richard Hurd, D. D.
Lord Bishop, 1781.

The rev. Arthur Onslow, D. D. dean,
1795.

The rev. Thomas Evans, D. D. arch-
deacon, 1787.

Sir William Burrell, Bart. LL.D.
chancellor, 1764.

PREBENDARIES, OR CANONS.

1st. Stall. The rev. Jas. Torkington,
D. D. 1775, master of St. Oswald's
hospital.

2d. James Stillingfleet, M. A. 1772,
rector of Knightwick and Dodden-
ham, and principal register of this
diocese.

3d. John Plumptre, M. A. 1787,
vicar of Stone and Wichen-
ford.

4th. Richard Kilvert, M. A. 1786,
vicar of Hallow and Grimley, and
rector of Alvechurch.

5th. Charles Peter Layard, D. D.
1793, F. R. S. and F. A. S. chap-
lain in ordinary to their Majesties,
and vicar of Newstoke and Worle,
Somerset.

6th. Timothy Neve, D. D. 1783,
Margaret professor of divinity in
the university of Oxford.

7th. John Carver, LL.B. 1777,

archdeacon of Surry, and rector
of Hartlebury.

8th. Thomas Fountaine, M. A. 1774,
chaplain in ordinary to their Ma-
jesties, and vicar of Bromsgrove.

9th. Thomas Evans, D. D. 1764,
archdeacon of Worcester, rector of
Severn Stoke, and vicar of Wol-
verly.

10th. Matthew Lambe, D. D. 1775,
rector of Harvington.

MINOR CANONS.

Rev. William Hughes, M. A.

Rev. Digby Smith, M. A. chantor
and precentor, and chaplain to St.
Oswald's hospital.

Rev. Thomas Clarke, M. A. sacrist ;
vicar of Stoke Prior, and minister
of St. Michael's.

Rev. Evan Griffiths, M. A. vicar of
St. John's.

Rev. Jeremiah Roberts, M. A. rector
of Sedgberrow, and curate of St.
Martin's.

Rev. George Shelton, M. A. vicar of
Overbury.

Rev. Thomas Heynes, B. A. rector
of St. Andrew's, and minister of
Norton.

Rev. John William Harrison, B. A.
rector of St. Clement's.

Organist, and Master of the Choristers,

Thomas Pitt.

Lay-clerks, or Singing-men.

Charles Radcliffe. John Southall.

John Radcliffe. Sam. Dangerfield

Joseph Shelton. Thomas Pitt.

John Griffiths. Sam. Symmans.

Ten Choristers.

Two School-masters.

Head Master, rev. John Griffin, M. A.

Under Master, vacant.

Forty King's Scholars.

Two Sextons.

Edward Jeal, Francis Stafford.

Two Vergers.

William Bishop, Thomas Knelms,

Two Butlers. One Manciple.

Two Cooks. Ten Beadesmen.

Two Porters.

A LIST OF THE ARCHDEACONS OF WORCESTER.

The title of Archdeacon is of no less antiquity than the primitive times of Christianity. They were formerly elected by the deacons from among themselves: and in the time of Henry VIII. their revenue arose from procurations, synodals, Peter pence, or pentecostals, pensions or indemnities, fines of testaments, vacations of benefices, installations of abbats. (Dugd. in Coventry.)

Agelric is mentioned to have been archdeacon here, 1088 and 1094. He is the second subscribing witness to bishop Wulstan's grant of Alvestune to the monastery, and which is dated M.LXXXVIII. He signs himself Agelricus Archidiacon.

Hugh held it 1120, and died possessed of it March 21, 1125.

William Comyn, about 1130. (1)

Gervas, about 1134.

Thomas Fitzharding, 1147.

Godfrey succeeded, about 1148, and died 1167.

Simon Limes succeeded 1167; and dying 1189, was succeeded by Peter de Arche, 1189; he died about 1196.

John de Cornubia, mentioned as archdeacon in 1197 and 1198.

John de Branastre, 1201; he died 1218.

William de Scot, alias Stickhill, in December 1218. In 1225, he was

(1) Neither Comyn nor his successor are in the List of Dr. Thomas's edition of Dugdale.

made bishop of Durham, but refused it. (B. Willis MS. p. 662.) He died 1242.

Vincent Bergavenny, resigned the archdeaconry in 1256.

Robert de Asthall, or Escall, canon of St. Paul's, London.

Hugh de Evesham, 1275, of which place he was either a native or a monk. He was proctor for the archbishop of York at Rome, 1280. He was the greatest proficient in physic of his age, on which account Pope Martin IV. created him cardinal of St. Laurence, in Lucina. He died, as is said, of poison, in 1287, and was buried in his church at Rome. (1)

Ralph de Hengham, collated 17 Cal. Nov. 1287. He died 1311, canon of St. Paul's, London. When he had been archdeacon here but one year, he resigned, or rather was dispossessed by

Francis de Sancta Lucia Cardinal, intruded by the Pope. He was installed by proxy, Jan. 8, 1288. He died 1311.

Henry Fitz-Dauphin, of Vienne, collated by the Pope on the nones of September, 1312, and was in possession 1315.

John Brucy is mentioned 1320. He died the following year.

Adam de Champneys de Sandwich, July 20, 1321.

John de Orleton succeeded him, collated thereto by Bishop Orleton, Oct. 17, 1329. He exchanged it for the rectory of Meanstock, in the county of Southampton, to be near Bishop Orleton, who was translated to Winchester, with

Robert of Wirecester, LL.D. 7 ides of April, 1337.

John Severle, chancellor of this diocese, collated May 12, 1349. He exchanged this archdeaconry for the rectory of Buxsted, in the county of Sussex, March 6, 1352, with

John de Harewell, who was, anno 1366, made bishop of Bath and Wells.

Simon Clemens succeeded him in the archdeaconry, which he exchanged for the rectory of Elyndon, in the county of Wilts, May 4, 1371, with

John Blanchard. He died, anno 1383; succeeded by

William Malpas, collated Dec. 4, 1383. He was made treasurer of Chichester about 1400, and seems to have resigned his archdeaconry, for we find William Rowcomb possessed of it 1401. He died, anno 1412.

John Ixworth, collated Oct. 28, 1412. He resigned, anno 1431.

(1) Tanner, Bibl. Brit. p. 418. ex. Leland. Willis, p. 662. Dr. Nash, vol. I. p. 413.

John Burdet, LL.B. collated May 31, 1431. He quitted it for the archdeaconry of Chester, when

William Hende was collated in his room, May 5, 1433. He exchanged it for Breedon rectory, with

John Verney, Nov. 13, 1438. He was dean of Litchfield. In 1452, he resigned this archdeaconry to

William Vause, LL.B. collated Oct. 19, 1452. He resigned this dignity long before his death to

Thomas Hawkins, collated Nov. 12, 1467. On his resignation

Robert Inkbarrow was collated, May 4, 1472; but soon quitted this post, for we find

Thomas Hawkins again instated in it, May 14, the same year. His successor was

John Burton, collated July 26, 1476, who resigned to

Richard Burton, LL.B. collated Nov. 14, 1479. He likewise resigned, and had for his successor

Thomas Alcock, collated Aug. 4, 1483. He was living in 1527, being also archdeacon of Ely. We find not the time of his vacating this dignity, but his successor was the famous

Stephen Gardiner, LL.D. 1500; who, in 1531, was made bishop of Winchester.

William Clayburgh, or Cleburg, succeeded April 4, 1531. On his death

Peter Vannes, or Vaynor, was collated to the archdeaconry, May 12, 1534. He was also dean of Salisbury. His successor in this dignity was

Thomas Powell, LL.D. collated July 2, 1563. He resigned, anno 1579.

Godfrey Goldsborough, B. D. succeeded July 15, the same year; and was promoted to the see of Gloucester, anno 1598. He was succeeded in this archdeaconry by

John Johnson, D. D. Nov. 24, 1598; who, in 1610, resigned it, and had for his successor

William Swaddon, D. D. who died possessed of this dignity August 4, 1623, and is buried in this cathedral.

Hugh Lloyd, D. D. admitted 18 August following, on the option of the archbishop of Canterbury.

Edward Thornborough, M. A. son of Bishop Thornborough, collated August 3, 1629.

William Hodges, B. D. collated May 30, 1645. He died anno 1676.

John Fleetwood, M. A. his successor, was collated September 4, the same year; he died 1705. His successor was

William Worth, B. D. a prebendary in the third stall of this cathedral, collated December 14, 1705; died in the year 1742, and was succeeded in this dignity by

John Tottie, D. D. canon of Christchurch, Oxford; he died November 21, 1774, a few days before the death of Bishop Johnson, who not having collated to it, the vacant turn devolved to the crown; when this dignity, by virtue of the royal prerogative, was conferred on

John Warren, LL.D. nephew of Bishop Johnson, and prebendary of Gloucester, who was installed April 22, 1775. He died March 9, 1787, when the present bishop collated

The Rev. Thomas Evans, D. D. prebendary of the ninth stall of this church, March 21, 1787; and who was installed archdeacon of this diocese, April 5 following. (1)

SECT. XII.

OF THE RELIGIOUS HOUSES, ANCIENTLY ENDOWED, AND LONG SINCE
SUPPRESSED, IN THIS CITY.

ANCIENT hospitals were principally intended for the accommodation of pilgrims and poorer travellers on their journies; and, with this view, were built by the sides of great roads, and near the entrance of towns: a few poor

(1) The archdeaconry pays tenths,* and 6*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* annually for synodals to the bishop of Worcester. In the King's books it is rated at 58*l.* 10*s.* The office is supposed to have been erected A. D. 1088, but I believe it to have been much earlier. The survey of this monastery was taken A. D. 1535, while Peter Vannes was archdeacon. The rectory of Claverdon, in the county of Warwick, is appropriated to the archdeaconry; to which, with the chapel of Norton Lindsey, the archdeacon presents.

* The tenths became vested in such bishops, and their successors, in exchange for manors and lands which had been alienated from their bishoprics to the crown; wherein an allowance of yearly tenths has been made a part or the whole of the consideration upon such exchange. These alienations from the church to the crown, have been restrained by an act in 1603, 1 Jac. cap. 3. [Mr. Bacon's Pref. to his Liber Regis, p. 7.]

men were stationed in each, to do the offices of hospitality, and were handsomely paid out of the revenues of their foundation.

ST. WULSTAN'S.

An ancient hospital, built on the south-east side of the city, of which that good bishop was the founder. Its original establishment was for a master, a chaplain, and four poor brethren. (1) They were religious, of the order of St. Augustin, and professed the three spiritual vows of chastity, poverty, and obedience. It was to be always in the patronage of the Bishop of Worcester, and his successors; and the preceptor or master, removable by them at pleasure. They had an infirmary, in which, A. D. 1294, were twenty-two persons. In 1268 William de Beauchamp, among the legacies he bequeathed in favour of other religious foundations in this city, left one mark to this hospital. (2) William de Molendinis, clerk, was a considerable benefactor to this hospital, as well as to St. Oswald's. In 1294, he gave sixty marks, and ten pounds sterling, by which he ensured to himself and his house, the prayers and devotional services of the brethren of the foundation, and the celebration of his anniversary on the conversion of St. Paul, with some degree of ceremony. (3) In 1414, when Bishop Bouchier made his visitation of this society, he made an addition to its members. He ordered, that there should be two chaplains, each to be allowed four marks yearly, a gown, a chamber, diet at the master's table, and, in his absence, ten pence a week for providing for themselves. He settled five poor brethren and two sisters in this house, each to have seven pence a week. But, lest complaints should arise of its revenue being unequal to such an additional burden, he forbade the granting of any corrodiess (4) for the future. Hitherto the masters had been laymen, as the appellation of Commander, assumed only by lay superiors, sufficiently implies; but this bishop insisted, that the master should be in priest's orders. (5) It had usually the name of the Com-

(1) Davies's MS. in Stow. Leland, who says it was situate in the suburb, without Sudbury gate, adds, "some say it was the foundation of a queen."

(2) Dugdale's Bar. vol. I. p. 227.

(3) Caligula, A. p. 190. M. Bibl. Cott.

(4) The founders of hospitals and monasteries reserved a right to their heirs, of quartering, if I may so speak, their old and decayed servants on the religious houses they had so founded. The set allowances of meat, drink, and clothing, which the convent was obliged to find to these eleemosynaries imposed upon it, was called *corredium*, and in English corrody.

(5) Dr. Thomas's Account of the Bishops of Worc. p. 195, 196. Walter, the master of this hospital temp. Edw. I. gave the brotherhood a *regular* habit, instead of a *secular* they had before.

mandery, from the title which its masters assumed; who, in imitation of the superiors in military convents, stiled themselves *præceptores*, or commanders. This has led some late retailers in geography into a gross mistake; who have ventured to assert, upon no authority but the name of Commandery, which the site of this hospital still retains, that it was formerly a house of the knights of St. John: whereas, it is certain that those knights had no possession in Worcester or its neighbourhood. (1) About the end of the thirteenth century, the prior took the title of Preceptor, or commander. And, in a patent of Henry VIII. the site of it is granted to Morysine, by the name of *situs præceptorie, sive, prioratus S. Wulstani, Wigorn.* In May, 1300, Hugh le Despenser, then chief justice of the forest, (afterwards the favourite and principal minister of Edward II.) attended by all the foresters of Feckenham, held his court in this hospital, for imposing fines on the destroyers of the king's game. August 21, 1524, Cardinal Wolsey had a bull from the Pope, authorizing him to suppress this hospital, with several other small religious houses, and with the lands and revenues thereof to endow his two colleges, at Ipswich, and Oxford; but he lived not to see it take effect; the king upon his disgrace having seized them all into his own hands. It continued in the patronage of the Bishop of Worcester till the dissolution, when it was valued, 26 Henry VIII. at 79*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.* per ann. in gross, 63*l.* 18*s.* 10*d.* clear, as returned by the commissioners. It was granted, 32 Henry VIII. by deed bearing date 15th March, to Sir Richard Morysine, who exchanged it again with that king; and then it became part of the endowment of the cathedral church of Christ in Oxford, of which it was held by lease, till on the 13th of May, in the 36th of the same reign, it was conveyed, in consideration of the sum of 498*l.* to Thomas Wylde, of the city of Worcester, clothier, the lessee; in whose family it remained till a few years since, when it was purchased by John Dunbridge Esq. of Worcester. (2) A moiety of the manor of Pirie, more anciently called Pirian, is mentioned among the estates of this hospital. (3) In this

(1) Tour through Great Britain, II. p. 291. (2) In the original valor of Worcester diocese, in the first-fruits office, it appears that the chapel of this hospital was dedicated to St. Godwald, and offerings were made to his image, &c. "*hospitale Sti. Wulstani juxta civitat. Wigorn. valet per ann. in oblationibus ad imagines Sti. Godwaldi, et aliorum imaginum in capella hospitalis, 20*s.**" On the margin is written, "*Capella Sti. Godwaldi.*"

(3) Patent 8. 45 Ed. III.

* In Leland's Itinerary, vol. V. f. 184, 6, we read, "There is in this suburbe a chappell of St. Godwald."

manor lies Perry Wood, famous for Cromwell's encampment ; and not less so, for being named as the scene of his interview with the infernal monarch ; a tale that tarnishes Mr. Echard's History. (1)

ST. OSWALD'S.

In the north suburb of this city was another hospital, and was dedicated to St. Oswald. Its original endowment was for a master, a chaplain, and four poor brethren. This hospital was originally an infirmary, founded for leprous monks of Worcester priory. The small-pox, when first brought by the crusaders into Europe, seems to have been confounded with the leprosy ; which was also, from the same conveyance, at that time epidemic in the West. (2) There is mention of other establishments for lepers, in various parts of England, and of France especially ; which were afterwards converted into hospitals, *i. e.* inns for the pilgrims and the poor, as was this of St. Oswald ; the master of which was nominated, anciently, by the precentor of St. Mary's priory. It was in being before A. D. 1268 ; in which year William de Beauchamp, by will, left it ten shillings. (3) Leland has given a short detail of its state and appearance at his time in his Itinerary. In several old deeds the chapel belonging to the hospital is said to have been a parish church ; and Bishop Littleton collected, from the manuscripts in the library of Jesus' college, Oxford, that there was formerly a church dedicated to St. Oswald, (4) in the hamlet of Whiston, within the parish of Claines. The patronage was vested in the prior and convent of Worcester, and the master was appointed by the sacrist of that church. Dugdale and Speed say it was valued at 13*l.* 14*s.* 4*d.* clear per ann. In a manuscript valuation of Archbishop Sancroft, cited by Tanner, it is stated at 14*l.* 14*s.* 4*d.* in the whole : and upon a new valuation, 4 Edw. VI. at 15*l.* 18*s.* This house

(1) The Commandery is an edifice constructed of wood, the framing of which is filled with brick and stone intermixed. The refectory, or great hall, is the principal of its remains ; it is nearly a square, roofed on the plan of Westminster-hall, with Irish oak, but not so ornamented. The original door and staircase still remain. The windows, which are lofty and spacious, are filled with small panes of glass, on which are painted birds, flowers, and other decorations ; but the principal part of them are charged with a scroll inscribed *Emanuel*. The modern additions to this house have made it a very eligible and desirable residence.

(2) Davies, one of Stow's manuscript authors, reports St. Oswald to have been the founder of this hospital himself. But the leprosy was not known in England till long after Oswald's time.

(3) Dugdale's Baron. I. p. 227.

(4) It was to this church William de Molendinis had began to build its east end in 1296, but died before he had completed it, as mentioned in the Worcester Annals.

was not dissolved, but given by the king to the dean and chapter ; in whose patronage it has remained ever since, except in the reign of James I. (1)

WHITSTANE, OR WISTAN,

A nunnery of seven or eight white nuns, of the Benedictine order, and called White Ladies from the colour of their habit ; situated, says Leland, on the north side of the cemetery of St. Oswald, in the north suburb of this city ; said to be founded by a bishop of Worcester. It was built upon ground that had belonged to the cathedral convent. The site of their house, and the donations which had been made to them, were confirmed by the prior and convent of Worcester, in July, A. D. 1255 ; at which time also, their church was dedicated. Bishop Godfrey Giffard, in the year 1269, gave to this nunnery the manor and patronage of Eston, from whence that village is still called White Lady Aston, or Eston. (2) He ordered the prior of Worcester to provide a priest to officiate there, for which he had a maintenance. He also gave them, 1271, a portion of tithes and oblations in Claines ; and made interest with Raymond de Nogeris, the Pope's nuncio, to free them from their tenths. In the reign of Henry IV. a patent passed the seal, for appropriating to them the church of Weston super Avon. There is a tenement, about a mile to the east of Worcester, which was part of the possessions of this religious house, and still bears the name of the Nunnery farm. Their revenue was valued, at the dissolution, 26 Henry VIII. at 53*l.* 3*s.* 7*d.* per ann. ; and granted, 35 Henry VIII. to one Richard Callowhill. The site of the nunnery still retains the name of the White Ladies, and is held under the governors of a charity, founded soon after the Reformation by Queen Elizabeth, for the support of a Blue-coat school in Worcester. Richard Blurton, Esq. purchased the renewable lease ; from whom it has descended to Richard Ingram, Esq. the present proprietor, who resides on the premises. The refectory remains nearly in its primitive state, a spacious and handsome apartment. The chapel was ruined on the dispersion of the nuns ; its outer walls, still remaining, ascertain its extent ; the position of its altar, (3) and several of its windows are

(1) The estate of the hospital was formerly esteemed a manor, and was rated at the valuation for tenths, 26 Hen. VIII. [See Dr. Nash, vol. I. p. 224.] Of its new foundation on the protestant plan, see Sect. XX.

(2) Mr. Abingdon. Dr. Thomas's Bishops of Worc. p. 143.

(3) On this altar is placed the monument of Mr. Richard Blurton, formerly the proprietor of this

still visible. Beneath the present flooring is a crypt, probably a place for the interment of its prioresses. Tradition has reported, that subterraneous passages led from this vault to St. Mary's monastery on the one side, and to Henlip house on the other. On a view of the place, no indication of such openings could any where be traced, to authorize the conjecture. The cemetery on the north of the building is now an orchard, where the remains of some of its original inhabitants have been occasionally discovered. This house appears to have been a religious establishment as early as the Norman conquest, and the only nunnery ever founded at Worcester. According to William of Malmsbury, Ulgeva, the mother of St. Wulstan, took the veil in this society. It seems not, however, to have had the support of an ample revenue, and but for the assistance of adventitious benefactors, could not have subsisted. Its founder is unknown. A stone structure, of Saxon origin, and probably sepulchral, which had stood on this spot, and called the White Stane, gave name to the ancient manor of Whitstone, of which the adjoining estate of Sansom-fields forms a considerable part. That estate is held by lease for lives absolute, under the lord bishop of this diocese; which, with several freehold lands contiguous to it, and the improvements made upon the joint property by the present worthy possessor and proprietor, Sir Charles Trubshaw Withers, Knight, (1) forms a pleasing villa, with abundance of rural advantages facing its principal front; and whilst it receives the benefit of being in the neighbourhood of an opulent and populous city, it repays that benefit, by being a real ornament to it.

GREY, OR MINOR FRIARS,

Otherwise called Franciscans. (2) Their house, according to Leland, was "of the foundation of the Beauchamps Earls of Warwick." It was in being

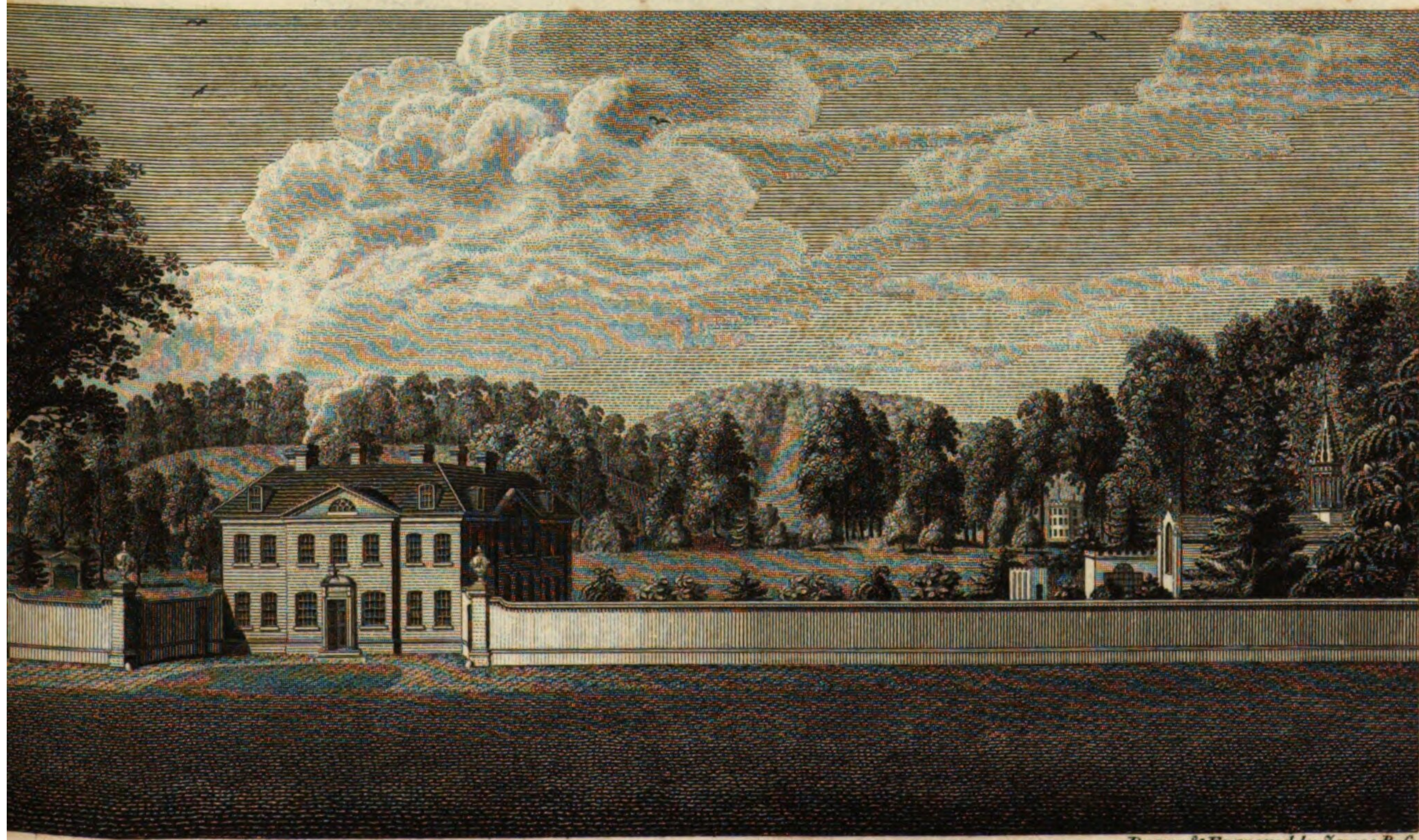
estate; it was removed hither from the old church of St. Nicholas when that structure was taken down, in which Mr. Blurton was buried. The inscription upon it is supposed to have been written by Lord Somers, when very young. [See Dr. Nash, vol. II. in Appendix, p. cxxxviii.]

(1) By the taste and liberality of this gentleman, a very extensive and pleasurable line of footway traversing a great portion of the pasture grounds of his premises to the east of this part of the town, has been laid open to public accommodation. Parallel with the Foregate-street is the principal promenade of the beau monde, bearing the name of Sansom-fields walk; from whence the surrounding eminences, that form the distances in the view represented in the annexed Plate, and which bound the east side of the city, are seen to the greatest advantage. This beautiful assemblage of rural scenery has procured to this spot the most general resort of the inhabitants of this city, for the exercise of walking.

(2) From St. Francis of Assisi, their founder, an Italian, who was born A. D. 1182. Entertaining a



Monument of JOSEPH WITHERS ESQ. in St. Swithin's Church.



Drawn & Engraved by James Rofs.

SANSOME FIELDS near WORCESTER.

*To Sir Charles Trubshaw Withers Kn^t. This Plate is most Respectfully Dedicated
by his most Devoted and Obligated
humble Servant*

Valentine Green.

London, Published by V. Green Dec^r. 1st. 1793.

before the year 1266. The site of their house extended from Friar-street eastward to the town walls. The church of this society stood without the walls, at the bottom of St. Laurence-lane, (a name that has given place to Friars-gate, leading to the Blockhouse-fields,) and was dedicated to that saint. (1) They had several benefactors in the neighbouring gentry, whose arms are still remaining in the great window of their hall. (2)

The refectory is a spacious and handsome room. The wainscoting, which is of Irish oak, is ornamented above with carvings, in which the instruments of the Passion are represented, inscribed B. V. and on some J. H. S.; whilst others have the plume of feathers, the badge of the Prince of Wales, between the initials E. P.; shewing thereby this part of its fitting up, if not also of the erection of the building, to have been subsequent to the date of the event that gave origin to this mark of distinction, which the valour of that prince has conferred on the eldest sons of our kings. It must, however, have been nearly coeval with that period, and most probably in his lifetime, and may consequently rank among the earliest testimonies of respect shewn to the memory of that illustrious character. This building is the most entire remains of an ancient religious house of any in the city; not a room has been changed: and those apartments which once held the religieux to their devotions, now hold the debtor and the criminal to their recollection and repentance. It is encompassed (1788) by the ancient wall of the city to the east, and the wall of the Blockhouse to the south. Many human bones have been dug out of its present garden, originally its burying ground. In the remains of the city walls the embrasures were stopt up, but were every where discernible; and being judged insufficient to hold the pri-

fancy that Christian perfection consisted in possessing nothing, he undertook to live the poorest of all men. This head had his followers; and those followers have the reputation of being the most obnoxious of all the religious orders ever established. [Emillianne's Hist. of Monastic Orders, p. 158.] Their first appearance in England was about the year 1224. They were divided into seven districts or custodies, each governed by a provincial or custos. One of these is said to have been fixed at Worcester; and that the custos had the care of the priories of Lancaster, Preston, Chester, Stafford, Shrewsbury, Bridgnorth, Litchfield, and Coventry. Affecting uncommon humility both in their name and garb, they stiled themselves *Minores Fratres*, and went barefooted, with cords for their girdles. From the colour of their habit, they had also the name of Grey Friars.

(1) Abing. MS.

(2) In a MS. in the British Museum, entitled, *Donations Brevia*, temp. Ed. V. et Ric. III. Plut. 10, 11. C. No. 433. Art. 151. p. 28. is the following grant: "To Frere Thomas Jonys, of the Freres Minours of Worcestre, the meadow called Digley, lieing under the castell there, during the king's (Rich. III.) pleasure, without any thing therefore yeldinge."

soners in safety, have lately been repaired, and rendered more secure. After its suppression, it was granted, 31 Hen. VIII. to the bailiffs and citizens of Worcester, they paying an yearly rent to the crown. It is now used as the city gaol. There was formerly, in the eastern wall of this city, a small gate, called Friars gate, opening directly upon this religious house. Part of its cemetery, or burial ground, is now a skinner's yard, at the entrance of the Blockhouse-fields.

DOMINICANS.

Preaching, or Black friars. (1) Leland says, their house at Worcester was situated in the north part of the city, and was of the foundation of the Beauchamps of Powick. 21 Edward III. these black or preaching friars had a grant of a piece of ground within the walls, called Belasses, for building their house upon it. (2) In 43 of the same king, they had a legacy of 20*l.* left them by Catherine, daughter of Roger Mortimer, Earl of March, and wife of Thomas Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick. (3) A new chapel was ordered to be built on the north side of the choir of this friary, for the burial of Sir John Beauchamp, A. D. 1475, who had willed his body to be buried here, and to which he gave, among other bequests, an organ of his own. His lady, who outlived him about two years, bequeathed also her body to be buried near her husband. She willed that a tablet of alabaster should be made, of the birth of our Lord, and the three kings of Coleyn, (Cologne) to be set in the wall over her body. Likewise an image of alabaster of St. John the Evangelist, three quarters of a yard long, with the chalice in his hand, to be set over her likewise. (4) It was granted, 31 Henry VIII. to the bailiffs and citizens of Worcester.

(1) Dominic, their founder, was born in Spain, A. D. 1170. They came into England temp. Henry III.; but when they settled at Worcester is not known. They had the name of Black friars from the colour of their cloaks and hoods, which they wore over white cassocks; and of Preaching friars, from their rambling over the country to preach; in which they have been successfully imitated by modern itinerants, as noisily religious, but under neither order or vow. They were mendicants, and had no revenues. They formerly were called Brothers of the Virgin Mary, from the worship they paid her, and to whom they consecrated wholly their Saturdays. Dominic is said to have persuaded Pope Honorius III. to establish the office of the master of the sacred palace at Rome, to whom was committed the interpretation of the Scriptures, and the *censure of books*; an office first filled by himself, and afterwards, successively conferred upon a religious of the same order. [Emill. Hist. Monast. Ord. p. 149, 150.]—Quære, Whether as a *lord chamberlain*, or as a *reviewer*, in England?

(2) It was situated at the back of the Broad-street, and extended to the north wall of the city on one side, and to Angel-lane on the east. A set of new houses, called Black Friars, is built on part of its site, and the other part is now covered with gardens. (3) Dugd. Bar. T. I. p. 234. (4) Ib. T. I. p. 249, 250.

PENITENTS.

A convent of fratres de pænitentia Jesu Christi, or Friars of the Sack, (1) made a settlement here in the latter end of the reign of King Henry III. (2)

TRINITY GYLD. (3)

The chantry of the chapel of the Holy Trinity, (4) in the parish of St. Nicholas, within the city of Worcester, was founded by Richard Norton and others, by virtue of the king's letters 18 Feb. 45 Edward III. to find a priest to sing mass perpetually for the soul of the founder, Richard, and all Christian souls. The gylde, or brotherhood, was established and confirmed by King Henry IV. 1404, in the church or chapel of the Trinity there, by his letters patent, having authority by the same to establish a certain perpetual chantry of three priests or chaplains, to sing mass perpetually for the said king. The said service, founded partly by the bequest of several persons, and partly purchased by devout persons, for and towards the sustentation of one priest, not only to say mass within the said chapel, but also to help the parson and curate in time of need in the parish church, because it doth abound of houseling people. The priest is removable. The value of the revenues, according to the book of first-fruits and tenths, is 11*l.* 3*s.* 7*d.* per ann. The yearly value, according to the survey, 10*l.* 2*s.*; out of which are deductions. (5) This chantry, with divers houses and lands, both within the city of Worcester and without, belonging thereto, came to the king's hands by

(1) These friars were so called from the sack-cloth habit they wore. They appeared in England, A. D. 1257. Their order was but short-lived, for they were suppressed by the council of Lyons, in 1307.

(2) Bp. Tanner's *Notitia Monastica*, fol. p. 625, 626, 627.; and in Pref. p. xxiii. where he says, they had eight houses in England. Mr. Pegge, in his *Memoir* on that order, has enumerated ten; and states, that they were settled in Worcester before A. D. 1272. [*Archæologia*, vol. III. No. XVIII. p. 130.]

(3) Taken by Mr. Abingdon, from the account delivered in to the king's commissioners at the dissolution. Gelds, or gilds, were founded either for the purposes of charity, (those were usually called after the name of some saint) religion, or merchandize. Their feasts and anniversaries, called Gilden, were held at their common charge. [Dugdale, in *Coventry*.]

(4) The order of Trinitaries, or Mathurines, for the redemption of Christian captives from the Infidels, was founded by John of Matha, born in Provence, in France, in the year 1154. Many monasteries were founded of this order, and filled with devotees, under the rule of St. Austin, which was finally confirmed A. D. 1207, under the name of the "Order of the Holy Trinity for the Redemption of Captives." It was brought into England in 1357, where it was called the Order of Ingham, probably from the place in which they first settled. [Emillianne's *Hist. of Monast. Orders*. Dugd. Warw. p. 498. Ed. Thomas.]

(5) See Dr. Nash, vol. II. p. cxi. in Appendix, ex. Regist. Silv. Giges, f. 199. 6.

act of parliament, temp. Edward VI. which was granted by his Majesty, in the second year of his reign, to Sir Edward Warriner, Knight, and Richard Catelin, Gent.; who the same year granted it to John Keyme and Richard Keyme. These grants, after passing through several hands, on the 17th Sept. 9 Jac. R. Mr. Robert Rowland, alias Steyner, heir to Mr. Robert Yowle, gave to the corporation of weavers, walkers, and clothiers of Worcester, the Trinity-hall, which his grandfather, Mr. Yowle, before intended, and to his power then performed." We have no account of its revenues, or how many brethren the society consisted of: it was, however, a fraternity much sought after, from the plenitude of indulgences they possessed, and which they managed to good account with their followers.

The site of their friary is said by Dr. Nash, (vol. II. p. cxxxix. in the Appendix) to have been "towards the bottom of the Angel-lane, between that and the Broad-street." I am, however, still disposed to think, that the present Trinity-hall is a part of its remains, and that it was there the house of those friars stood. Since the dissolution it has a charity upon a new foundation. (1)

SECT. XIII.

OF THE CASTLE, AND ITS HEREDITARY CONSTABLES.

THAT there was a fortress of the Romans here, afterwards turned into a citadel by the Saxons, and honoured by the residence of the viceroys of the Wiccii, is sufficiently credible, though history affords no direct and positive proof of it. (2) The first castle here, of which any mention occurs, is that which Urso d'Abitot built. (3) The area, which is now called the College green, was in the Norman times the *outer ward* of the castle, behind which to the south was the inner, or fortress itself. The houses in the outer ward were held under the king: whereas the inner was part of the fief of the sheriff hereditary of Worcestershire. This appears in the grant made of the

(1) See Sect. XX. (2) See Sect. I. and II. (3) He signs as the fourth witness to St. Wulstan's grant of Alvestune, A. D. 1088, thus: "Urso Vicecomes cū omnib^{us} militib^{us} vicecomitat^{us} ejus." In Leland's time there was of the Abitots, a man of 20 li land in Worcester towne. [Itin. vol. VIII. p. 128.]

former to the prior and convent, on the day of King John's interment, by the Pope's legate and the Earl of Pembroke.

I think that the building erected by D'Abitot must have been in this outer ward; for his moat for securing it cut away part of the cemetery or burial ground of the monks. This invasion of St. Mary's land gave them great disturbance; and they never rested, till they got it restored; which they afterwards did, with interest. The inner ward, it may well be supposed, was the older Saxon citadel.

Urso de Abitot, a Norman captain, on whom William the Conqueror had bestowed forty hides of land in this county, with two manors in Warwickshire, and another in Gloucestershire, had, under that king, and Rufus his son, the chief civil and military trusts in the county of Worcester; being constituted sheriff, and constable of the royal castle here, with the very honourable appointment, that these offices should descend hereditarily in his family. He is sometimes called Urso de Wirecestre; I suppose from his residence here. He and his brother Rodbert, who was the king's steward, (1) were troublesome neighbours to the convent of St. Mary's, and found pretences for dispossessing the monks of several of their manors. (2) Urso, especially, was greedy in grasping whatever lands he could reach, and sufficiently tenacious of his prey. (3) Yet he was no enemy of the monastic institute. This robber of the church was pleased to be the founder of a hermitage, that at Great Malvern; which Bishop Wulstan improved, and, by the aid of considerable benefactions, converted into a priory of monks. (4) Urso carried on the buildings and moat of the castle nearer to the cathedral church than the convent could well brook. They appear to have complained to their old prelate and patron, Aldred, Archbishop of York; who meeting with the sheriff, as William of Malmsbury relates, played off his artillery of imprecations, pointed, in the manner of devotive charms, with rhyme:

“ Highest thou Urse? Have thou God's curse,

“ And mine, and that of all holy men, unless thou remove thy castle; and
 “ know assuredly, that thy posterity shall not inherit the patrimony of St.
 “ Mary.” This curse, says Malmsbury, seemed to take effect; for Ursus died soon after.

(1) Otherwise called Robert Despenser. (2) Ridmerly, Clopton, Acton, Waresleah, and part of Bengworth, &c. seized by Urso: Lawern, Elmley, and a moiety of Chorlton, by his brother. [Heming. Chartul.]
 (3) Heming. p. 257. (4) Dugdale's Baronage. Tanner's Notitia.

Roger, the son of Urso, succeeded him, but fell under the displeasure of King Henry I. and was deprived of his patrimony, for ordering the execution of one of the king's officers, in the height of his passion, and was forced to fly his country. (1)

Walter de Beauchamp, steward to this king, who had married Emeline, the only daughter of Urso, was next instated in the sheriffalty of Worcestershire, with the custody of the castle, as well as in the possession of all the lands of Roger de Worcester, his brother-in-law. According to Leland, he was related to the Conqueror. Elmeley was his capital seat.

William de Beauchamp, his son, succeeded both in the office of steward to the king, and in those of sheriff of the county, and constable of the castle of Worcester. In 1139, he was appointed lord high constable of England; a post of the highest power that any subject could enjoy. His adherence to the Empress Maude, in the war about the succession to the crown, which was kindled immediately after, drew upon him the enmity of King Stephen, who deprived him of his hereditary trusts; gave the government of Worcester, and its castle, to Waleran, Count of Meulant, and constituted him Earl of Worcester. Of this Waleran, who was sufficiently active, soon after the breaking out of that war, in parties of military execution, at the head of his garrison of Worcester, I shall speak in the following section. But the great success of the empress reducing a great part of the kingdom to her subjection, she restored to William de Beauchamp the castle of Worcester, with its outer ward, the sheriffalty of the county, the keeping of the forests, and whatever else did, by right of inheritance, pertain to a sheriff of Worcestershire, and castellan of Worcester; on the condition of his being her liegeman against all persons, especially against Waleran, Count of Meulant, and of his paying to the crown the like yearly rent, as Walter his father had paid. In these possessions he was confirmed by her son, King Henry II. with whom he stood in great favour, and had the honour to execute various high offices in his reign. He died in 1170, and was buried near the door of the chapter-house of Worcester priory. (2)

William de Beauchamp II. his son and successor, died in the beginning of King John's reign: whose son, another

Walter de Beauchamp, was made by that king governor of Hanley castle, in this county. He took part with the barons against that unhappy

(1) William Malmsbury. Drake's York, p. 413.

(2) Ann. Wig. 1170.

prince : upon which his lands were seized and confiscated, and himself laid under the sentence of excommunication. This was a fortunate incident for the church of Worcester, and prevented his opposition to the grant, which, in 1217, was made to the monks, of a moiety of his castle here, by the Earl of Pembroke, then guardian of the young king, and by Gualo, the Pope's legate. (1) The moiety then surrendered to the convent, upon the bishop's representation and complaint, was the outer ward ; but not till a jury of knights had been impannelled, twelve out of Worcestershire, and two from Gloucestershire, to inquire concerning the right of the sheriff hereditary and of the church in the premises, and to make their report to William Earl of Pembroke. (2) The tenour of their report may be conjectured from the words of the king's charter in confirmation of this grant ; which distinguishes the northern part of the castle as his own fief, and the southern as Walter de Beauchamp's ; and grants the former, in which were situate the king's houses, to the prior and convent, for the enlargement of their close or court.

After this time it is not probable, that any of the governors had residence in this castle, except in times of public disturbance ; no convenient offices being reserved for the reception of a large retinue ; only the main fortress, of no great extent, including the keep and its moat, (3) being left.

On the death of Walter, in 1235, his son, William de Beauchamp III. succeeded. This baron aggrandized the family by his marrying Isabella, sister and afterwards heiress of William de Mauduit, Earl of Warwick. By his last will, in 1269, he ordered his body to be interred in the church of the friars minors, without the city of Worcester, founded by this earl or his ancestors. (4) There is reason to think, that, notwithstanding his own

(1) At this time Walter was a suppliant to the legate, and glad to compound for his absolution. Till he had given security for his future fidelity, his paternal castle of Elmeley was withheld from him : but upon security being obtained, restitution was made to him of the castle of Worcester also, (*i. e.* its remaining moiety) and of the sheriffalty of this county ; yet only for a time, until the king should accomplish the age of fourteen years. In the 20th year of Henry III. he had a fresh grant of the sheriffalty as his acknowledged inheritance.

(2) Dugdale.

(3) *Castrum Wigorn. nobis redditum est tanquam jus nostrum, usque ad motam turris.* [Annal. Wigorn. sub anno 1217.] This grant was only promised at the funeral of King John : it passed the seal on Easter-eve, 1217, signed by the guardian of the young king ; who, in the sixteenth year of his reign, 1232, confirmed it under his own hand.

(4) See the preceding Sect. Dugd. Warw. His contests with the bishop of Worcester about his right to the wreck of barges, &c. and the execution of sheriffs' warrants in Oswaldslow hundred, are too tedious to be here particularized. Consult Dr. Thomas.

appointment, the monks of Worcester priory obtained the benefit of his sepulture.

William de Beauchamp IV. his eldest son, succeeded ; who, in the year before, had been admitted to the earldom of Warwick, in right of Isabella his mother. Hitherto Elmeley castle was the chief seat of this family, but from this period, the castle of Warwick.

A rumour, maliciously propagated, that his father's body had been thrown out of his sepulchre, hurried the earl to Worcester in 1276; when the grave or tomb being opened, in the presence of this nobleman, and his brothers, (1) the body of the old Lord of Elmeley, distinguishable by certain signs, was recognized, and left to its rest. This had never been entered in the annals of Worcester convent, if the honour of the convent had not been concerned in the scrutiny.

In the reign of King Edward I. we find this earl frequently employed in awing the Welch, against whom he had successful campaigns ; especially in the year 1295, when he made great slaughter of them, in a battle near Montgomery. Next year he had a command in Scotland, and, by a most bloody victory that he obtained there, compelled the surrender of the fortress of Dunbar. He died in June, 1298, and was prevailed upon by a friar minor, who drew up his will, to order his interment, not at the cathedral, where his ancestors lay, but in the choir of those friars at Worcester. In that will he bequeaths to them two great horses, which at his funeral should carry his armour ; and for the solemnizing of his interment, he left 200*l.* (2) On the 27th of June, these Franciscan brethren, as though on purpose to mortify the monks of the cathedral, made a procession, as it were in triumph, (3) carrying the body of this great man through the streets and lanes

(1) This earl had three younger brothers, Walter, Lord of Powyk and Alcester ; Sir John, Lord of Holt ; and Sir James, who died in 1296, distinguished by the annalist as the friend of Worcester church. The two last were buried in the cathedral.

(2) Among the various other legacies he bequeathed by that will, the following are found relating to Worcester :—To a priest, to sing mass daily in his chapel, without the city of Worcester, near the house of the friars minors, for the health of his soul, and the souls of Isabell his wife, and Isabell de Mortimer, and all the faithful, he gave all his rent of the fee of Richard Bruli, in Wiche and Winchester. To Joan, his daughter, a kind of canopy, sometime belonging to St. Wulstan. To the friars minors of Worcester, *xls.* To the hospital of St. Wulstan, at Worcester, 1 mark. To the hospital of St. Oswald, there, *x sol.* To the church and nuns (the White Ladies) without Worcester, 1 mark. To every anchorite in Worcester, and the parts adjacent, *iv s.* [Dugdale, p. 312. Ed. 1656. Lond.]

(3) *Quasi victores captâ prædâ.* Ann. Wig. The cemetery, wherein an earl of Warwick, and a lord

of the city, and then deposited it, says the splenetic annalist, in ground, "wherein, during the winter season, it may rather be said to be drowned than interred; in a spot whereon I have seen vile kitchen-herbs grow." (1)

His son, Guy de Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, was his successor; and signalizing himself greatly by his valour in the war of Scotland, received, as his reward, a vast accession of domains, which had belonged to the royal house of Baliol, in the bishopric of Durham. He was one of the nobles whom King Edward I. charged, on his death-bed, not to suffer Piers Gaveston to return to England, and be employed about the person of his son. But Edward II. could not live without his favourite. Piers was king in effect; till he was seized by an association of the nobility, of whom Earl Guy was the most active, being particularly piqued at the nickname of Black Dog of Arden, (2) which this haughty favourite, in allusion to Guy's swarthiness of complexion, had too contemptuously given him; and for which he paid by his life; for Guy, without ceremony, cut off the prime minister's head, on Blacklow hill, near Warwick: for which fact, however atrocious, he was too powerful to be brought to punishment; and, in 1314, extorted the king's pardon of the murder. But he died himself the next year, August 12th, in his castle at Warwick, as some insinuate, of poison, aged about forty-four, and was buried in the abbey of Bordesley, in Worcestershire; to which he had been a considerable benefactor. (3) He founded the college or chantry of priests at Elmeley. His son

Thomas, Earl of Warwick, was at that time an infant. The king gave to Hugh le Despenser, another of his favourites, the custody of the castles and all the great patrimony of this minor; and, after Hugh's fall, Roger, Lord Mortimer, the favourite of Queen Isabella, obtained the right of this custody in his room. But as soon as the young earl had attained the age of seventeen, King Edward III. gave him possession of his father's lands; and, in the next year, admitted him (though still under age) to the sheriffalty of Worcestershire, and the post of chamberlain in the exchequer, with

treasurer of England (John Lord Beauchamp of Powyk), and others of this illustrious family were buried, is now full of pits for the dressing of sheep-skins. See Sect. XII.

(1) They had, about eight years before, a quarrel, similar both in its nature and result, with the monastery about the interment of one H. Poche, who had willed himself to be buried at the friars minors, but whose body, on his decease, was obtained by the sacrist, and buried in the cemetery of the cathedral. [Dr. Thomas's Account of Bishops of Worcester, p. 146. and Append. No. 64, p. 55.]

(2) Arden forest, in Warwickshire. See Sect. I. p. 9, 12.

(3) Dugd. p. 315.

power of delegating to whomsoever he pleased, the execution of these hereditary offices, after the example of his ancestors. He was one of those noble warriors who contributed to raise the glory of England in the days of Edward III. In the battle of Cressy he commanded the van of the English army: in the field of Poitiers he galled his hand, (less tender, we must presume, than the hands of modern heroes,) by the long and forcible exercise of his sword and poll-axe; and among his prisoners there, took William de Melleun, the Archbishop of Seinz, for whose redemption he received eight thousand pounds. But the account of his military exploits, his expedition at the head of a retinue of three hundred horse, to war with the Infidels in the Levant, &c. comes not properly within the plan of this work. It is sufficient to observe, that he was chosen one of the knights of the garter, at the first institution of that noble order; that he was appointed earl marshal of England in 1344; and that he died near Calais, of the plague, 13th of November, 1369, at a time when he was meditating conquests. (1) His son,

Thomas II. Earl of Warwick, succeeded him; to whom, in the third year of King Richard II. 1380, the house of commons committed the care of the young king's education. He also was a knight of the order of the garter. His close connections with the king's uncles were his ruin. In 1387, he raised forces with the Duke of Gloucester and other confederate lords, who, marching to London, gave law to the throne. This violence was pardoned; but in 1397, the king's jealousy broke out, and could be allayed by no less a sacrifice than the lives of that duke and his principal adherents. The ambitious Gloucester was assassinated; this earl impeached of high treason, and condemned. Proud and haughty hitherto, he stooped now to beg poorly for his life, which was granted him; but with the sentence of perpetual banishment to the Isle of Man; from whence, within a year, he was remanded back to the Tower of London. At this time the office of hereditary sheriff of the county, and the keeper of the castle of Worcester, was suppressed, and annexed to the crown. The castle of Warwick, with several lordships in that county, and the manors of Packingham, Salewarp, Wadbergh, Scelton, and Beoley, in Worcestershire; and Haselore, in

(1) He lies interred in the midst of the choir of the collegiate church at Warwick, with Katherine, his countess, daughter of Roger Mortimer, created first Earl of March. Their effigies, in white marble, are placed on the tomb erected over them. This countess left, by will, to the convent of Friars Preachers in Worcester, xx li. [Dugd. Warw. p. 319. Ed. 1656.]

Warwickshire: part of the Beauchamp inheritance was conferred by the king on Thomas Holland, Earl of Kent and Duke of Surry, of this family. (1) Some other lands in this county, forfeited by the attainder of the Earl of Warwick, were probably given to Sir Thomas Percy, who at this time was advanced to the long dormant honour of Earl of Worcester.

Thomas, the unfortunate Earl of Warwick, survived his troubles; and, in the beginning of the next reign, was restored to the enjoyment of his liberty, honour, and the greatest part of his possessions. (2) But the custody of Worcester castle was no longer a fief of this family. Sheriffs have since that period been appointed annually; and, during their offices, have the charge of the castle.

A gaol, for the reception of the prisoners of the exterior county, is all the structure now seen on the spot where kings of England have kept their courts. There is a steep artificial mount, whose area at the top is not more than six yards in diameter; on which, it is probable, the donjon, (3) or keep of this fortress, anciently stood. The rampire to the south of it, extending from the river almost as far as Edgar's tower, is not yet levelled; and the ditch on the outside may be easily traced.

(1) Dugdale, Baron. II. p. 76. I find, however, the city of Worcester mentioned among the possessions of his grand-daughter, Anne, Countess of Warwick; which, by feoffment, Dec. 13th, anno 3 Hen. VII. she settled on the king and his issue male. [Ibid. I. p. 307.]

(2) He died April 8th, 1401, and with Margaret his countess, daughter to William Lord Ferrers, of Groby, lies buried under a costly monument on the south side of the collegiate church of St. Mary, in Warwick, the choir of which, begun by his father, he finished; and entirely built the body of the church as it now stands. [Dugd. p. 323.]

(3) The donjon was the highest and strongest tower of the castle; in which prisoners were kept. (Johnson's Dict.) The modern word dungeon conveys a very different idea, that of a dark and subterraneous prison. The ancient tower, built, A. D. 914, by Lady Ethelfleda, at Tamworth, was placed on an artificial mount, called the *Dungeon*, upon which mount the castle now stands. [Toldervy, p. 411. Octavo. Lond. 1762.] The tower in the hospital meadow, at Norwich, called the *Dungeon*, served as a prison for the jurisdiction of the cathedral. [Parkyns's Hist. of Norwich, p. 271.] The *Dungeon-bill*, at Canterbury, is supposed to have been a work of the Danes. [Gough's Additions to Camden, in Kent, vol. I. p. 237.]

SECT. XIV.

OF THE EARLS AND MARQUISES OF WORCESTER.

THE title of Earl gives nothing now but rank, and a seat above barons and viscounts in the house of lords. But anciently considerable power and jurisdiction was annexed to the honour. Earls, by the Saxons, were called Ealdormen, and was the highest magistrate in the county that gave him title. He had the government of the chief city or town and castle of his territory. It was not a title or degree of dignity, but the office and judicature in some city or portion of the county, circumscribed anciently by the bounds of the bishopric of the diocese; for that the bishop and the earl presided together in one court, and heard jointly the causes of the church and the commonwealth, as they now do in parliament. (1) The military command of the shire was vested in him; and he presided as judge in the county courts, where the titles of lands, and the causes of freeholders, were tried and decided. The sheriff, or vicecomes, was a subordinate officer, whose more immediate jurisdiction was over the king's demesnes; and with whom was also intrusted the execution of the king's mandates, and the collection of his rents, fines, reliefs, customs, &c. throughout the whole county. Earldoms were, at first, offices during the pleasure of the king, and but for life only: they were made hereditary, feudal, and patrimonial, by William the Conqueror. The earl had a revenue for the support of his dignity, namely, the third part of all mulcts, forfeitures, and profits accruing to the exchequer from the county. (2) For this third part the sheriff stood responsible to the earl; and for the other two parts to the king; (3) except in the city of Worcester, where, as we have already seen, Ethelred, Duke of Mercia, and the Princess Ethelfleda, with the allowance of her father, King Alfred, had given to the bishop one half of the king's profits. (4) This particular constitution of the revenue at Worcester, is taken notice of in Domesday book; wherein it is said, that "in King Edward's time, the bishop had the third

(1) Sir H. Spelman's Works, (Feuds and Tenures) c. 6. p. 13. Part II.

(2) Dr. Brady's Hist. vol. I. p. 82.

(3) Madox, Hist. Exc. chap. 23. Sect. 2. A certain sum is now annually paid them out of the exchequer in lieu of the third penny.

(4) See Sect. II. p. 18.

“ penny in the borough, and still has it, as well as the king and the earl. (1)
 “ The bishop’s profit of the third penny amounted, in that king’s time, to
 “ six pounds; and now (*i. e.* in the time of William I.) amounts to eight
 “ pounds” (2) (annual income.) (3)

As there was at that time no earl of Worcester, the sheriff (*vicecomes*), who was his proper substitute, received the third penny in lieu of the earl. There is no mention of any earl of Worcester till the reign of King Stephen. The highest officer, before the year 1139, resident in this county, was the sheriff; for which reason, the county itself was frequently distinguished, in those days, by the name of *vicecomitatus de Wirecestre*.

Waleran de Beaumont, younger son of Robert Count of Meulant and Earl of Leicester, received, by the grant of King Stephen, the earldom of Worcester, with the custody of the castle annexed to it. As a soldier, he had variety of fortunes, especially in the wars of Normandy; in which province he had large possessions. As a scholar, he distinguished himself, in 1119, at Gisors, when King Henry I. and the Pope had an interview there: our young count and his brother engaged the cardinals in a dispute, and so dexterously entangled them in the forms and subtleties of logic, that their eminencies, with all their skill, could not evade nor break through the argument.

The city of Worcester was, in the beginning of November, 1139, plundered and set on fire by the troops of Milo, Earl of Hereford, who was one of the most zealous adherents of the Empress Maude. Waleran, the new

(1) Mr. Graves’s Extracts from Domesday; published in Hearne’s Chartul. Wigorn.

(2) Eight pounds in coin, at that time, was equivalent to one hundred and eighty pounds sterling, at the present rate of money.

(3) The Norman kings soon found it their interest to pull down the power of hereditary earls. Their whole jurisdiction was transferred to sheriffs, assisted in their courts by the king’s justiciaries. But they retained their third penny for some longer time. In the dialogue concerning the exchequer, written in the time of Richard I. an earl is thus oddly defined, “ An earl,” says the old writer, “ is one who receives a third part of the fines in each county.” The Empress Maude created an earl in the following form: I Matilda, daughter of King Henry, and Queen of England, give and grant to Jeofrey de Magnaville, for his services, and to his heirs after him by inheritance, that he shall be Earl of Essex, and have the third penny of the pleas in the sheriff’s court, as the earl ought to have, for the support of his earldom in all things.” [From the original instrument in Camden’s possession, the oldest charter of creation he had seen.] The same provision is made by Henry II. for Hugh Bigod, Earl of Norfolk, which the old register of Battle-abbey thus explains: “ It was an ancient custom that prevailed all over England, for the earls to have the third pennies of counties, whence they are called Comites.” [Gough’s edit. of Camden, vol. I. Orders in England, p. 137.]

Earl of Worcester, came, on the 30th of November, to take possession of the castle here, which had held out for King Stephen; and, marching out at the head of the Worcester men, made most severe reprisals upon the tenants and adherents of Milo; took Sudley castle, in Gloucestershire, and ravaged the whole country round it, returning with droves of cattle and of prisoners to Worcester. In 1140, he attended King Stephen to Worcester; and while the king marched forwards to Hereford, Waleran fell upon Tewkesbury, and took immense spoils, sparing only the goods of the abbey church; but setting fire to the magnificent seat of the Earl of Gloucester, and pillaging or laying in ashes all the houses, till he approached the city of Gloucester, within the distance of a mile. (1) On his return with his party to Worcester, he protested, with an inhuman glee of triumph, that "neither in Normandy nor in England had he ever burnt more villages and houses in one excursion." In the next year Waleran had the command of a wing of King Stephen's army in the battle of Lincoln. In 1146, he took upon him the cross, and performed a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. After his return to Normandy, we find him among the partizans of the empress and her son. King Stephen, in resentment of his desertion, (2) made an attempt, in 1150, on the castle of Worcester, but not being able to carry it, wreaked his fury on the city, which he abandoned to flames. (3) In the following year he made another assault, but with no better success; the garrison made a gallant defence: the king raising the siege, contented himself with blocking up the castle by two forts, which were soon after taken by Robert, Earl of Leicester, the elder brother of Waleran, Earl of Worcester and Meulan. When Henry II. son of the Empress Maude, came to the crown, one of his first acts was, the depriving the pseudo-earls (those who had been instated by the usurper King Stephen) of their dignities. But Waleran, though no longer an English earl, continued a count in France; where, in 1166, he ended his days, a monk in the abbey of Preaux, in Normandy; so easy was the transition in those days, from the fierce warrior to the trembling devotee. Trophies in a camp and beads in a cloister were successively amusements for the grandee.

(1) Contin. Flor. Wig. sub anno 1140.

But it is more probable that William de Beauchamp had before this time seized Worcester for the empress, and was the governor who so bravely maintained the castle against King Stephen. [See the last Sect.] It may be questioned whether Earl Waleran was ever resident in England after his return from the Holy Land.

(2) I have followed here Mr. Carte's account.

(3) Hollingshed, p. 384.

After him, there was no earl of Worcester for above 200 years. In 1397 (at which time earls had nothing from their counties but a title) Sir Thomas Percy, admiral of the fleet, vice-chamberlain and steward of the royal household, was, by King Richard II. created Earl of Worcester, Sept. 29. He was younger brother of Henry, the rough and boisterous Earl of Northumberland. In January following he was made governor of Calais. Henry IV. on his accession to the crown, sent him ambassador to France, in conjunction with Walter Skirlow, Bishop of Durham; (1) and in 1402, made him his lord lieutenant throughout Wales, for the subduing of the rebels under Glendowr. In 1403, he hurried from his honourable station at court to join the Percies in their unfortunate rebellion. In the bloody battle fought, July 2, near Shrewsbury, his nephew Hotspur fell, and the earl himself was taken prisoner, and, by the king's order, beheaded at Shrewsbury. (2) He had no issue. In an age that abounded with brave commanders, his valour was acknowledged and admired.

The title of Worcester was dormant for a few years. King Henry V. in the 7th year of his reign, conferred it upon Richard Beauchamp, Lord Bergavenny, son of William de Beauchamp, Lord of Abergavenny, nephew of Thomas, Earl of Warwick, the last hereditary sheriff and castellan of Worcester. (3) He had rendered, in the war of France, very important services to that monarch; who, in recompence, gave him this dignity; and, for the support of it, made him large grants of land in Normandy, and other provinces of France. (4) He had but short enjoyment of these marks of royal favour, being wounded, but a few years after, at the siege of Meaux, in France, March 18, 1422, by a stone from a sling; of which wound he languished, till death relieved him, 5 Hen. V. (5) He left an only daughter, born at Hanley castle, in Worcestershire, who carried his estate and the barony of Bergavenny to her husband, Sir Edward Nevill, and his descendants. The title of Worcester was in him extinct. Earl Richard was buried at Tewkesbury abbey, where the ancestors of his wife Isabel, Lady Despenser, had been usually interred. She erected over his sepulchre, on the north side of the choir, a very elegant chapel, dedicated to Mary Mag-

(1) Hollingshed, p. 1125. Hall's Chron. p. 16.
Eccl. Hist. vol. I. p. 619, 620.

(2) Speed's Chron. p. 629. Collier's

(3) Willis's Notitia Parliamentaria, p. 154.

(4) Biograph. Britann. I. p. 608.
shire, Gough's ed. p. 479.

(5) Dugd. I. p. 242. Camden, in Monmouth-

dalen, wherein his and her anniversary might be celebrated. The chapel still remains.

King Henry VI. in the 27th year of his reign, on the marriage of Sir John Tiptot, Lord Tiptot and Powys, with Cecily, relict of Henry de Beauchamp, Duke of Warwick, (1) revived, in favour of this accomplished nobleman, the title of Earl of Worcester. This lord was born at Everdon, in Bedfordshire; was educated at Baliol college, Oxford; and signalized himself early by his military services, and by a taste for literature, very extraordinary in that age. He passed through a series of the highest posts; justice of North Wales, steward of the household, twice treasurer of the exchequer, twice entrusted with the government of Ireland, twice lord high constable of England; honoured with the order of the garter. His vehemence in support of the house of York had raised him to intoxicating greatness: and the instability of that family on the throne was his ruin. In 1470, the reign of Edward IV. was suddenly interrupted by the restoration of Henry VI. who was called out of prison to his last scene of royalty. This revolution was stained with no blood, but that of the Earl of Worcester; who, endeavouring to elude the search made for him, was discovered in his place of concealment at the top of a high tree, was brought to London, and beheaded on Tower-hill, Oct. 18. (2) Caxton, who published a translation of Cicero on friendship, and other tracts, the work of this ingenious nobleman, laments his fall, and celebrates his virtue. "At his deth every man that was there might lern to dye, and take his deth paciently."—And again, "The noble famous erle of Wurcestre in his tyme flowred in vertue and cunnyng; to whom I knew none lyke emonge the lordes of the temporalitie in science and moral vertue." Learning, indeed, had a patron in him; but true honour and virtue will scarcely allow him a seat in their temple. History brands him with venality and avarice; and, what is worse, with cruelty: all his love for the sciences could not soften in him the ferocious temper of the unhappy times in which he lived; of which, his destroying two infant sons of Lord Desmond; and his hanging and empaling, in virtue of his authority as lord

(1) This Henry Duke of Warwick, was great grandson of Thomas de Beauchamp II. Earl of Warwick, with whose history and attainder the last Section concluded.

(2) Biograph. Britan. II. p. 1239. He had deserted the cause of Henry, and suffered by order of the great Earl of Warwick, who had just before thought proper to abandon that of Edward. He is buried in the cathedral of Ely; where, on a very handsome tomb in the south ile of the choir, his effigy is laid between those of his two wives. [See Bentham's Ely, Plate xxxviii.]

high constable, twenty gentlemen taken on ship-board, in the service of Henry VI. are mentioned as flagrant instances. (1).

Edward Tiptot, the son of this lord, was restored in blood to his father's title, as soon as King Edward IV. regained the throne. But died before he came to age, in 1485, the last earl of Worcester of this family.

The honour lay dormant near thirty years. Henry VIII. renewed it in the person of his chamberlain, Charles Somerset, who was made knight of the garter, and lord chamberlain of the household by Henry VII. ; and in the beginning of his reign, was summoned to parliament as Lord Herbert of Gower and Chepstow, and created, in 1514, earl of Worcester and baron of Ragland. This Charles was a natural son of Henry Beaufort, Duke of Somerset, who was beheaded at Hexham, 1464. It does not appear that he had any connection either with the city, castle, or county of Worcester. He died in 1526, and lies buried at Windsor, under a stately tomb. (2) As the history of his noble descendants may be found in every account of the present peerage of England, I shall content myself with subjoining little more than their names, in the order and with the dates of their succession.

1526. Henry Somerset, son of Charles abovementioned, was Earl of Worcester after him. He died 1549, and was buried in the church of Chepstow, in Gloucestershire, under a handsome monument. On his death,

1551. William, his son succeeded. He was one of the peers that sat on the trial of Mary Queen of Scots. In 1573, this earl was sent into France with a font of pure gold, to be present as surety or godfather, in the name of Queen Elizabeth, with the procurators of Mary the Empress, and of the Duke of Savoy, at the baptizing of the French king's daughter. (3) He died, A. D. 1588, and was buried at Ragland.

1588. Edward Somerset succeeded his father in his title, and in the ho-

(1) See the Hon. Mr. Walpole's character of him, in his List of Noble Authors, vol. I. p. 63. Leland, in his New Year's Gift to Henry VIII. as translated by Bale in his fourth division of the Literati of this Kingdom, down to his own time, has honoured this earl with a place among them. His town residence, called Worcester Place, was near the water side, a little to the west of Vintner's hall. [Pennant's London, p. 340. 2 Ed.] The earls of Worcester had a very large house between Durham Place (now the Adelphi) and the Savoy, with gardens to the water side. It was pulled down by their descendant, the Duke of Beaufort; and the present Beaufort-buildings rose on its site. Ibid. p. 145.

(2) Atkyns's Hist. of Glouc. p. 127. Sandford's Gen. Hist. p. 338.

(3) Camden's Life of Q. Eliz. p. 168. Hollingshed's Chron. p. 1865. Sandford. p. 347.

nours of public service. During his youth, he was one of the finest gentlemen, and one of the best horsemen and tilters of his time; which, together with his being of royal blood, recommended him to Queen Elizabeth, who, to the promotion she bestowed on him, added the honour of making him her ambassador to Scotland to James VI. on his marriage with Anne of Denmark. He died at Worcester house, in the Strand, 1627. "He was so fruitful of issue, (says Camden, in whose time he lived,) that he had more sexes than, of late, all the earls of England had," viz. eight sons, and seven daughters, by Elizabeth, daughter of Francis Hastings, second Earl of Huntingdon.

1627. Henry Somerset, his second son, succeeded his father as Earl of Worcester. He had been created a peer in his father's lifetime, by the title of Lord Herbert. He was reputed once the wealthiest of the peers of his time. He sacrificed all his riches to the service of Charles I. who created him Marquis of Worcester, 1642, in return for his loyalty, and the ruin of his fortune. He defended his castle of Ragland with the intrepidity of a hero; and had the honour to find himself the last opposer of the enemies of his king, and his castle the last that surrendered to their power. He died at the age of 84, and was buried at Windsor, 1646. (1)

1646. Edward, his son, known in his father's time by the title of Earl of Glamorgan: a man of a most extraordinary genius; in mechanics a famous, but rather too fanciful, projector. (2)

1667. Henry, his son, the third Marquis of Worcester, was made lord president of Wales, 1672; installed knight of the garter, and admitted privy counsellor the same year. He was also lord lieutenant of the counties of Gloucester, Monmouth, Hereford, all Wales, and Bristol, which city he defended in Monmouth's rebellion with great reputation. He was created duke of Beaufort, in 1682, 34 Charles II. He died 1699, and lies buried at Windsor, near his ancestor Charles Somerset, first earl of Worcester of this noble family. (3)

(1) Sandford, p. 354. Sir Robert Atkyns's Hist. of Glouc. p. 127. In the Antiquarian Repertory, vol. III. No. V. p. 150, to 155, is "an account how the earl of Worcester (Henry) lived at Ragland castle before the civil wars began, in 1641." It exhibits a very curious instance of the hospitality of our ancient nobility; and leaves little for modern refinement to boast of on the score of costly abundance.

(2) See his "Century of the Names and Scantlings of such Inventions as he had tried and perfected." Published in 1655, and dedicated to Charles II.; republished by T. Payne, in 1746. [See Appendix.]

(3) Sandford, p. 364. Atkyns's Glouc. p. 127. Dugd. Bar. II. p. 295.

1700. Henry Somerset, his grandson, Duke of Beaufort and Marquis of Worcester. Appointed, in 1710, captain of the band of pensioners.

1714. Henry, his son, then a minor.

1745. Charles Noel Somerset, brother to the last duke; whose abilities and oratory distinguished him in both houses of parliament.

1756. Henry Somerset, his son, the present Duke of Beaufort, Marquis and Earl of Worcester; a nobleman of great accomplishments.

SECT. XV.

BATTLES, SIEGES, TUMULTS, AND OTHER REMARKABLE OCCURRENCES RELATING TO THE CITY OF WORCESTER.

LAMBARDE, a celebrated antiquary and historian, who wrote cotemporary with Mr. Camden, makes this remark in his short account of this city, (1) that he never met with a place that had so great experience in the calamities of the intestine broils of the kingdom, and other casual disasters, as the city of Worcester. If, as he hath observed, it then stood foremost in the list of misfortune, how much more so does it since that time, in which a desolating pestilence, the scourge of two sieges, the terrors of a fierce battle, and the ruin of a destructive plunder, to which it was on each occasion consequently abandoned, are to be added to the catalogue of its miseries: these have indeed confirmed its claim as having had a larger portion of the bitter draught of general affliction, than has fallen to the lot of any of the inland cities of the kingdom.

About the year 894, Ethelred and Ethelfleda rebuilt this city, which had been ruined by the Danes; and, with leave of King Alfred and his nobility, they gave to the church of St. Peter, and to Bishop Werferth, (Werefrid) half of all that belonged to the king, whether in the market or in the street, for their better support and maintenance; upon which the bishop ordered, that at morning, evening, and undersong, should be said for them the psalm *De Profundis*, as long as they lived; and, after their death,

(1.) See his Alphabetical Description of England. Quarto.

Laudate Deum ; and, every Saturday, in St. Peter's church, thirty psalms with masses. (1)

1041, May 4. A tumult happened at Worcester, in the collecting a tax that was deemed exorbitant. (2) Thurstane and Feader, two of the hus-carles (*i. e.* domestic servants) of King Hardicnute attended as receivers. The multitude rose upon them. They endeavoured to shelter themselves in the tower, (probably that which is called Edgar's,) but, in their flight thither, were intercepted and slain. The king, highly incensed at this riot, sent a large body of forces to be executioners of his vengeance ; who entered the city, Nov. 12, without resistance ; the inhabitants having prudently abandoned it, to fortify themselves in an island of the Severn, called Bevere, within two miles distance from it, toward the north ; where they determined either to purchase their freedom, or sell their lives in a brave defence. The rifling of the city was a work of four days. Avarice was at length glutted ; but cruelty not so, till the streets themselves were set in flames. The vindictive army marched then, laden with its plunder, to the attack of the entrenchments at Bevere ; but were there so warmly received, that, after several unsuccessful assaults, the royal generals were obliged to grant an honourable capitulation to the besieged : who, returning to their city, rebuilt it.

1074. When a conspiracy was formed against William the Conqueror, by some noble Normans, viz. Roger Earl of Hereford, his brother-in-law Ralf de Gauder, Earl of the East Angles, and other lords, who had invited succours from Denmark, but, by the king's vigilance, were hurried to take the field before those could arrive ; the junction of the forces of the conspirators was prevented by the activity of the king's friends in Worcestershire. Bishop Wulstan, Urso, the sheriff, and Agelwy, abbat of Evesham, assisted by Walter de Lacy, a powerful baron in Herefordshire, assembled a sufficient body of troops for guarding the passes of the Severn, whereby the Earl of Hereford's march was stopped, his whole design frustrated, and the rebellion easily quashed. (3)

(1) Hicks's Thes. p. 624. &c. Sept. Gram. Ang. Sax. p. 78.

(2) A tribute called *Danegelt*, imposed on the people to repel the ravages of the Danes on their first coming among us. Ethelred has the reputation of raising this tax, and it is stated as the first ever laid by any king of England.* [See Flor. Wig. p. 403. Sim. Dunelm. p. 181. W. of Malms. II. p. 43.

(3) Hollingshed's Chron. vol. I. p. 11.

* Gibbon's Analecta. Hist. Polit. No. 980. Plut. 30. V. A. Brit. Mus.

1088. (1 Will. II.) Bernard de Neumarché, Lord of Brecknoch, Osbern Fitz-Richard, surnamed Scrope, Roger de Lacy, Ralf de Mortimer, and other potent barons of Shropshire and Herefordshire, came with an armed force against Worcester, which had declared for the reigning king. Bishop Wulstan acted on this occasion the part of a worthy prelate and brave Englishman, by arming his tenants, and animating the citizens; whose wives, children, and moveables, were secured within the walls of the castle; whither the bishop himself retired, and encouraged the garrison to a most vigorous defence. The besiegers over-ran the suburbs, and set them on fire; but being more intent on plunder than conquest, they spread themselves over the adjacent country in quest of pillage; the garrison seized the opportunity, made a sally, came up with the enemy as they were ravaging the bishop's lands at Wick, took or killed five hundred men, put the rest to flight, and freed the city from its blockade. (1)

1113. June 19, the city of Worcester was consumed by fire; even the buildings in the castle and cathedral not escaping. According to the Worcester annals, one monk, and twenty of the inhabitants perished in the flames. It was, however, suspected, from its nearness to Wales, and from the people there at this time inclining to insurrection, that this fire was one of their first movements in their invading and laying waste the English marches. (2)

In Nov. 1233, great part of the city was again burnt down, by a casual fire, and the cathedral much damaged. (3)

1139. On the 7th of November, the forces of the Empress Maude came from Gloucester, and attacked the city. The inhabitants, before their arrival, being apprized of it, had deposited their goods in the cathedral. The clergy, in care for the safety of the church, and what was concealed in it, assembled the choir, who sung in form, preceded by the relics of St. Oswald, which were carried before them from one gate to the other, to terrify the besiegers, who attacked a strong fortress, said to be the castle hill, raised at this time, (4) on the south side of the city, but were repulsed. (5) In their attack of the north side, they gained admittance into it, and immediately set fire to it in several places; a great part of it was consumed, and

(1) Henry of Huntingdon. Hollingshed, vol. I. p. 17.
 Hollingshed, vol. I. p. 37.
 Abingdon's MS. p. 31.
 Stow's Chron. p. 145.

(2) Flor. Wig. Polidor. Hollingshed, vol. I. p. 107.; and
 (3) Dr. Thomas's Account of Bishops of Worcester, p. 107.; and
 (4) Abing. MS. p. 23.

(5) Contin. Flor. Wig. f. 672, 673.

the whole rifled and plundered. (1) The narrative of this attack, and the taking of the city, is given in a very descriptive and interesting manner by Florence's continuator, who was an eye witness to the transaction, and a monk of this church, whose danger and distress he very feelingly describes.

1149. King Stephen took and burnt Worcester; (2) but the castle, against which he raised two strong forts, resisted all his attempts, having been rendered extremely strong. The remains of one of the forts, which was raised on Red hill, near Digley, are still to be seen. The other was raised upon Henwick's hill, to command the Welch road from Ludlow. (3)

Eustace, his son, afterwards invested the castle of Worcester, then in possession of Count de Meulant; but he met with such a vigorous resistance, that, notwithstanding the two bastilions of timber, which he raised against it, called, in those days, Malevicines, they were both destroyed, the castle saved, and he was compelled to desist; (4) in revenge of which, he set fire to the city.

In 1157, Worcester was fortified, by Hugh Mortimer, against King Henry II.; but on the approach of the royal forces to dispossess him, he submitted, and was pardoned. (5)

1175. The new tower at Worcester fell down. (6) In what part of the city this was situate, we have no account.

In 1189, almost all the city of Worcester was destroyed by fire. (7)

In the fourth night of the Easter week, A. D. 1202, the cathedral, with its adjacent offices, and great part of the city, were burnt; but the walls of the cathedral, being of stone, were not thrown down. (8)

1216. When Lewis, eldest son of the King of France, was invited to the English throne, by a confederacy of the barons, the leading men in Worcester declared for him, and received William Mareshall, son of the Earl of Pembroke, as governor of the city for the dauphin. On St. Kenelm's day,

(1) Dr. Brady's Hist. Eng. p. 280.

(2) Huntingdon, p. 395. In speaking of this king, as to the character he bore in the eyes of the nation, Robert of Gloucester has thus berhymed it, and recorded this event:

" King Stephen his luthenese withdrew yers a fewe,
But er V yer wer goo he ganne to wex a shrewe.

For he wende aboute and robbyd the lond, and to grownd broght,

Then the toune of Wyrcester he vrent all to nought." [Weever's Fun. Mon. p. 75.]

(3) Dr. Nash, vol. II. p. 109, in Appendix.

(4) Lambarde, p. 407. ex. Sim. Dunelm.

(5) Grafton's Chronicle, p. 51.

(6) Ann. Wig.

(7) Angl. Sac. p. 477.

Abingdon's Priors of Worc. p. 119; and Willis's Abbies, vol. I. p. 307.

(8) Ann. Wigorn.

Ranulf, Earl of Chester, came up with a body of king's troops, and meeting with unexpected resistance on the north side of the city, and the utmost resolution in its defence, detached a party to the south, which broke into the castle, (1) by surprise, and through it into the town: the inhabitants were taken captives on their ramparts, and compelled, by exquisite tortures, to discover their treasures. The soldiers of the garrison, who had taken sanctuary in the cathedral, were forced thence; the church and storehouses of the convent plundered; and a fine of three hundred marks imposed on the monks, for the payment of which, they were reduced to melt down the embossments of St. Wulstan's shrine. In the same year, King John was buried here. (See Sect. IV. p. 58.)

1218. Bishop Sylvester obtained the grant of a fair, in honour of St. Wulstan, to be held four days before the feast of St. Barnabas. (2)

Near the end of the year 1222, the two smaller towers were destroyed by a violent storm. (3)

1225. A great tournament was made at Worcester, for which Bishop Blois excommunicated all the persons concerned in it. (4)

1263. Robert de Ferrers, Earl of Derby, Peter de Montfort, and Robert, son of Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, with other barons of their confederacy, laid siege to the city of Worcester; and, after several assaults, took it, 28 February. The church they spared, but rifled the houses of the citizens, the Jewry especially, in which some of the Jews were put to the sword, and others imprisoned. (5)

1264. Towards the end of the year, King Henry III. was brought to Worcester, by Simon, Earl of Leicester, then his keeper, into whose hands he had fallen at the battle of Lewes.

(1) The new governor had seasonably retired, forewarned, it is said, by his father, who was a steady adherent to King John, had the merit of establishing Henry III. his successor, and governed, as regent, during the minority of that prince.

(2) Ann. Wig.

(3) Abing. Antiq. Worc.

Cath. p. 3. Willis's Abbies, vol. I. p. 302.

(4) Both papal and regal decrees against tournaments were very severe, on account of the fatal consequences of many of them. They began about A. D. 930, and continued to the time of Henry VIII.; who himself greatly delighted in them, and had nearly fallen a sacrifice to the custom, by the hands of his favourite, Brandon, Duke of Suffolk.* In the Harleian library is a MS. containing "Ordinances and Statute Rules (to be observed in Tournaments) made and inacted by John Tiptoft, Earl of Worster and constable of England, by the Kynge's commandement at Windsor, the 6th yeare of Kynge Edward the fourthe."

(5) Hollingshed's Chron. p. 266; Stow's Chronicle, p. 193; and Lel. Coll. vol. I. p. 457.

* Camden, in Herefordshire. Lambarde's Perambulation in Kent, p. 448. Strutt's Man. and Cust. vol. III. p. 126, 127.

1265. Prince Edward, afterwards King Edward I. who had been taken prisoner by Simon Montfort, was carried with the king, his father, to the castle of Hereford, from whence he found means to escape to Worcester, by stratagem. Here an army was speedily assembled under his banners, which enabled him shortly afterwards to defeat that of the Earl of Leicester, in the famous battle fought at Evesham, on the 4th of August of that year, in which Montfort and many of his principal adherents were slain. By this important victory gained by the prince, the regal power of the kingdom, which had been nearly annihilated, was restored; and the captive Henry, who had been placed in the front of the battle, clad in a suit of Leicester's own armour, miraculously preserved, and ultimately restored to his throne and kingdom. (1)

1281. April 27, Godfrey Giffard, Bishop of Worcester, laid the first stone of the pavement of the town. (2)

1299. A street in the suburb of Worcester, leading towards St. John's, was entirely consumed by fire. (3)

1313. The stone bridge was built across the Severn, (4) as appears by the register of the priory. The former bridge was, it is probable, of wood, and had been destroyed by the abovementioned conflagration.

In 1342, April 18, a plague broke out in Worcester, very fatal to the inhabitants.

Another pestilence, in 1349, carried off so many of the citizens of Worcester, as to make it unsafe to admit interments of those who died of it in the cemetery of the cathedral; on which account, Bishop Wolstan de Braunsford granted the citizens leave to have a burying place at St. Oswald's hospital. (See Sect. VII. p. 145.)

1401. Worcester was burnt and plundered by Owen Glendowr's troops, with their French auxiliaries; from whence Henry IV. drove them back into Wales. The king in his return halted at Worcester; where, on the approach of winter, he dispersed his troops, and privately made his way to London. (5).

(1) See Tindal's Hist. and Antiq. of Evesham, ch. ix. a very interesting detail of this battle. See also Lambarde, p. 148. M. Paris, &c.

(2) Ann. Wig. This was long before the streets of Canterbury and Southampton were paved. See Anderson's Chronology. Deduction of Commerce.

(3) Ann. Wig.

(4) Willis's Hist. of Abbies, II. p. 262.

(5) Monstrelet, c. 15. Hall's Chron. p. 18, 19. Guthrie and Gough's Additions to Camden in Worcestershire, p. 358.

John of Lancaster, Duke of Bedford, constable of England, had that office granted to him by letters patent, dated at Worcester, 10th Sept. 1403, 4th of Henry IV. (Sandford's Gen. Hist. p. 304.)

1471. The defeat of Queen Margaret's forces in the battle of Tewkesbury, together with the murder of the prince her son, raised her indignation and grief to the wildest transports, and her imploring the vengeance of Heaven against Edward by her imprecations and tears, were collected by Lord Stanley, who had been sent to seize her (1) after the battle, and produced by him as new crimes before the king, to whom he presented her at Worcester. Edward was in danger of abusing his power, by making this miserable reason a pretence for taking away her life on the spot; but the reflection of a moment on the unworthiness of the design, made him resolve to send her to London, in order to be tried by the parliament for the crime of high treason. (2)

All our historians mention a most wonderful flood of the Severn, in the year 1484, which was such an inundation as to carry away men, women, and children. This was called the Duke of Buckingham's water, because he lay with an army of Welch, ready to march against Richard III. and was stopped by it; being so sudden, as in one night's time to render passage every where impossible. His men, for want of provisions and pay, deserted him. This providential deluge seated Richard in his usurped dominion, from which the duke was preparing to dislodge him. (3)

1485. This year was Bosworth-field, and then was the city of Worcester seized into the king's (Henry VII.) hands, and men were beheaded at the High-cross: and there were paid for the redemption of the city, five hundred marks; whereof three hundred went to the king, and two hundred to the Duke of Bedford. (4)

1486. The loyalty of Worcester to King Henry VII. was very near drawing upon it the severest calamities. Sir Humphrey Stafford and his brother, and Lord Lovel, having escaped from the sanctuary at Colchester, raised a rebellion; and while Lord Lovel, at the head of three or four thousand men,

(1) She was found in a poor religious house not far from Tewkesbury, to which she had retreated on the day of the battle. Hollingshed's Chron. p. 1341. Speed's Chron. p. 696.

(2) Hist. Marg. of Anjou, from the French of the Abbe Prevot, vol. II. Part IV. p. 182, 184.

(3) Hall's Chron. fol. xv. 3 Rich. III. Hollingshed's Chron. p. 1402.

(4) Bishop Blandford's MS.

advanced to surprise York, where the king then was, the two Staffords marched, with what force they could collect, to attack the city of Worcester. Lovel miscarried by his own cowardice: he deserted his camp; and all his thousands, upon the offer of the king's pardon, made a surrender of their arms, and dispersed. These tidings reached the other body of insurgents, at the time when they were allotting to each man the post he should undertake in the assault upon Worcester. All their measures were instantly broken. Sir Humphrey Stafford was executed at Tyburn.

1534. Sept. 15th, a great earthquake happened at Worcester. (1)

1558. A sore *new* sickness raged in Worcestershire, thought to have been the *sweating* sickness. (2)

During the pontificate of Bishop Whitgift, Sir John Russel and Sir Henry Berkley, having a great misunderstanding subsisting between them, came to the sessions at Worcester, with a select number of friends, domestics, and followers armed, with an intent to decide the controversy by dint of sword. But luckily the bishop was timely informed of their design, and found means to frustrate it, by providing a strong guard at the gates of the city, whom he directed to arrest both parties, on their appearance, with their attendants, and caused them, to the number of four or five hundred, to be conducted to his palace; where he insisted on a surrender of their arms to the custody of his servants. He then expostulated with the leaders to bring about a reconciliation. By persuasion and threats, as the argument occasionally required, he happily put an end to their differences, and both, in perfect amity, attended him to the town-hall; where they were more properly engaged in the service of their country. (3)

In the beginning of June 1637, a most destructive pestilence broke out in this city, and continued its ravages till April the following year; during which time it appears that 1551 (4) persons fell sacrifices to its fatal effects. The island of Bevere was, on this afflicting occasion, again an asylum to many of the distressed inhabitants of Worcester, who fled to it as a refuge, from the infection, and as a place where they could be supplied with provisions, till they could return in safety to their desolated city. (5)

(1) Bishop Blandford's MS.
gift, p. 30, 31.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Sir G. Paul's Life of Whit-

(4) See a table of the number of persons who died of the plague in the respective parishes of the city and suburbs, in a late publication from a MS. poem of considerable merit, written at the time, by Philip Tinker, Gent. entitled, "Worcester's Affliction."

(5) The humanity shewn on this melancholy occasion towards the distressed sufferers, who, but for the

SIEGE OF WORCESTER, A. D. 1642.

Our national history has already so amply developed the political interests of those events that took place at Worcester during the grand rebellion, from the year 1642, when the first blow was struck there, to the year 1651, when the last kindred blood was shed within its walls, and terminated that memorable and important contest ; that little is left to be added, except the detail of local circumstances that occurred in those encounters between the contending parties, in and near this city. (1)

The loyalty of Worcester became an early object of the jealousy and displeasure of parliament. About the middle of September 1642, the inhabitants opened their gates to Sir John Biron at the head of 300 cavaliers, whom they assisted in fortifying the city against the parliament. He was joined by Lord Coventry, with some troops of horse, (2) and expected farther supplies of men from the king. He was not suffered, however, to remain long inactive in his post : Colonel Fynes, with a force of 1000 dragooners, joined by the trained bands of Gloucestershire, and a body of troops under Lord Say, from Oxford, laid siege to Worcester in favour of the parliament : and on the report, that the king, with 1500 horse and 3000 foot, was approaching to raise the siege, the Earl of Essex, at the head of an army of 14,000 men, had set forward to prevent it. (3)

On Wednesday, September 21st, Lord Say, Colonel Fynes, Captain Browne, Captain Seaton, and Captain Thackhouse came to the gate of the city, when Lord Say, having formally demanded entrance, and being as formally denied it by Lord Coventry and Sir William Russell, gave orders to assault, and force a passage into it. Captain Browne had the honour to commence hostilities by striking a hole through the gate with a pickaxe, and firing a musket shot into the town. This attack was immediately answered by the gate being thrown open by the cavaliers, who

assistance of the neighbouring gentry, must have perished through want, is the subject of another poem, written and published by J. Toy, M. A. master of the College school, entitled, " Worcester's Elegy and Eulogy."

(1) A very extensive collection of diurnals, political pamphlets, newspapers, and other periodical publications of those times, presented by his Majesty to the British Museum, is the source from whence those particulars are principally derived. The jet of their politics, as may be naturally expected, is entirely devoted to the service of the then prevailing power of parliament.

(2) Vol. No. 3. Coule's Perfect Passages, No. 15. p. 4. 16 Sept. 1642.

(3) Perfect Diurnal, No. 15 ; published by Cook and Wood.

rushed out upon the assailants, and in a skirmish killing four or five of them, returned into the city without being followed by any of the besiegers, who, it appears, were ill provided to effect any important service against it, not having a single piece of ordnance to support them. (1)

Prince Rupert, with his brother Prince Maurice, and a considerable body of troops, having joined Sir John Biron, on Friday the 23d, with fifteen troops of horse, marched out of Worcester into a green meadow (Pitchcroft) on this side of the city, daring their adversaries to combat. The republican spirit was roused to indignation at this taunting display of heroism, and notwithstanding that, from the dispersion of their force on every side of the town, and on the other side of the Severn, they were not justly enabled from the numbers they could immediately muster, to encounter them, yet Colonel Sandys and Colonel Austine determined to risk an engagement with them: a charge was forthwith made upon them with effect, and, being joined by others of their party, a very spirited action was supported through the whole of the afternoon. The prince and his troopers, at length, perceiving a reinforcement of horse approaching to sustain the enemy, who, they conceived, came from the forces which the Earl of Essex was hourly expected to bring to Worcester, retreated into the city, pursued by the parliamentary army, where the fight was continued till towards midnight; when, with his beaten troops, the prince was obliged to abandon the town, and escaping over the bridge, took his route towards Herefordshire in great disorder. (2)

(1) Perfect Diurnal, p. 8. (2) Leach and Cole's Special and Remarkable Passages in Parliament, No. 10. p. 4, 5, 6. A manœuvre was practised during this conflict with some success on the part of the royalists. A detachment of 1000 horse had been sent from the parliament army to Powick, and about the same number of foot on the side of the city, with a view of surrounding the prince's forces. To the detachment at Powick, a spy (who pretended himself chief gentleman to the Earl of Essex) was dispatched with information, that the lord general had entered Worcester, and that if they would advance, the retreat of the royalists might be effectually cut off. Following this advice, they arrived on their march at the rising ground, (now occupied by a cherry orchard,) near which an ambuscade of horse and foot was stationed, by whom they were attacked with great fury, and twenty-five of their men were left dead on the field. At the same time also another false rumour was dispatched to the regiment on the city side, that Prince Rupert was advancing against them at the head of 10,000 men; on which report, they hastily fell back to the distance of four miles. By this stratagem of dividing the attention of those parts of their forces, the prince was enabled to offer battle to the remainder of their army; in which, however, he only experienced a disgraceful defeat.*

In the first of these conflicts, Prince Maurice had one of his hands almost struck off, and was danger-

* England's Memorable Accidents, p. 29, 30. a weekly paper.

The Earl of Essex arrived the same night with his army before the town, but thought it not prudent, on suspicion of treachery, to enter it till the morrow, (1) when the parliament forces took full possession of it, and all the horrors of a pillage followed. On the Sunday (Sept. 25th) the soldiers visited the cathedral; where, after every sort of vulgar abuse and wanton destruction that could be effected on its altar, which they pulled down, and its vestments and furniture, which they destroyed; the vault beneath it was explored, and a considerable treasure of stores and provision was discovered in it, supposed to have been sent thither from the collegians of Oxford, as a depot for the use of the royalists, and consigned to Dr. William Smith, one of the prebendaries, and Dr. Potter, then dean of Worcester, both of whom had made their escape. (2) The mayor of Worcester, (Edward Soley, Esq.) with alderman Green of the same city, were taken into custody by order of the lord general, for having given up the town to the cavaliers, and were conveyed under a strong guard to London, where, on their arrival, Oct. 19th, they were imprisoned. A waggon load of plate, containing 2200lb. weight, was sent with them; part of which belonged to the mayor, and was intended for the use of the king. (3) A gallows was set up in the market-place of Worcester, by order of the lord general, to hang some of the townsmen who had betrayed Col. Fynes' troops to the prince; (4) and a commission was appointed by parliament, authorizing Sir Robert Harlow and master serjeant Wilde, to go down to Worcester to examine delinquents, and to secure the city. (5) The lord general, as a primary operation of punishment,

ously wounded in the head with a poll-axe; Commissary Wilmot was run through the body with a sword by Col. Sandys in a single rencontre; the Lord John, brother to the Duke of Lenox, was very dangerously wounded: about thirty gentlemen of the prince's party, and double that number of the common troopers were slain; about thirty others were made prisoners. On the side of the parliament, Major Douglas was slain. Colonel Sandys narrowly escaped with his life from having been dragged by his horse about the field, on falling from his saddle. Twenty-six of their troopers are reported from their own party to have been killed. This action, and its consequences, were considered of such importance to the republican cause, that the parliament drew up an order, that public thanks should be given in all churches in London, on the fast day, for this great victory.*

(1) Ibid.

(2) Remarkable Truths, Octob. 4, 1642.

(3) Cook and Wood's

Perfect Diurnal of Parliament, No. 16. See also Vol. No. 4. Cole's Special Passages, Nov. 2, 1642.

(4) England's Mem. Accid. Octob. 12. p. 43.

(5) Cole's Perfect Relation or Summary,

No. 2. Upon his information also Edward Soley, John Elmbury, and George Street, aldermen of Worcester, accused upon oath before the committee of both houses of parliament of divers crimes and misdemeanours against the government of the city, were removed, and other aldermen elected in their

* Leach and Cole's Contin. of Special Passages, No. 16.

put the city to the ransom of 5000 pounds. About the middle of October, having repaired its fortifications, engaging the citizens to lend 3000*l.* to the parliament, dividing his army, which now amounted to about 24,000 men, into three brigades of about 8000 each, and dispatching them in different directions to oppose the king's march, which was reported to be intended for London, he left Worcester at the head of one of the brigades himself, and marched towards Shrewsbury in pursuit of the forces headed by the king in person. (1)

SIEGE OF WORCESTER, 1646.

The loyal spirit of Worcester was not, however, to be broken or subdued by the event of a single defeat; communications were kept open with the royal party; the magistracy of the city were firm in their attachment; and by a series of resolutions in their corporate capacity, they determined to support the royal cause, by holding the city to the king's use, and assisting him by every other means in their power. To that end, "at a chamber meeting, Oct. 9th, 1643, the election of Mr. Hacket to the mayoralty was set aside, he being formerly elected sheriff for this year, and as the offices jointly were incompatible; and it being suggested in his majesty's letter, that, in consideration of the troubles then existing, it would be most proper that some able and expert man, who had borne that office before, should be elected; it was agreed and ordered, that Mr. Daniel Tyas (2) should be sworn mayor, and that Mr. Hacket should be sworn sheriff, in pursuance of his first election; which was accordingly done." (3) Additional ordnance was provided by them for their defence, and levies of men to work on the fortifications, and of money to defray the expences, and to remit to the king

stead. [See Chamber Orders, from A. D. 1602. to 1650. p. 211. in the Archives of the corporation of the city of Worcester.]

(1) England's Mem. Accid. Sept. 29. p. 29, 30, 31, 39, 47.

(2) Mr. Tyas was an apothecary; he had served the office of mayor in 1639, and in consequence of the able discharge of his duty at that time, and his being now called upon to sustain it in a time of danger and difficulty, the king conferred upon him the honour of knighthood.

(3) Chamber Orders, p. 210. Sir William Russell, who principally resided amongst them, and who had already distinguished himself as a stanch royalist, had received from them the following honourable distinction for his services: "In a chamber meeting, holden July 18th, 1643, a certificate was agreed upon to be presented to the king, expressive of the confidence of the mayor and corporation in the courage and good intentions of Sir William Russell." And at a subsequent meeting he was presented with the freedom of the city. [Chamber Orders, p. 216.]

for his use, were raised with an alacrity that evinced their earnestness in his cause. Thus preparing themselves for the worst, they met the approaches of a second siege with a resolution and firmness that reflects honour on their constancy and courage.

March 26, 1646, Sir William Brereton, Colonel Morgan, and Colonel Birch, with about 2500 foot and horse, faced the city of Worcester, and sent a trumpeter with a summons demanding its surrender to the parliament. At night, however, they drew off to Droitwich, and some of them went to the siege of Litchfield. The king having escaped from Oxford, in disguise, to Newark, a letter from the garrison of Worcester was sent to him, desiring his particular directions. Meantime, May 16th, a letter from General Fairfax, then at Heddington, near Oxford, to Governor Washington, requiring the surrender of the city, had the following spirited answer:—

“ Sir,

“ It is acknowledged by your books, and by report of your own quarters, that the king is in some of your armies; that granted, it may be easy for you to procure his majesty's commands for the disposal of this garrison; till then, I shall make good the trust reposed in me. As for conditions, if I shall be necessitated, I shall make the best I can; the worst I know, and fear not; if I had, the profession of a soldier had not been began, or so long continued, by your excellency's humble servant,

HENRY WASHINGTON.”

May 25th, Colonel Whalley having encamped on Rainbow, or Wheeler's hill, a sally of four horse from the town alarmed the besiegers, who drew out sixty horse and one hundred foot, and coming within reach of the guns of the city, ten were killed and twelve wounded, without any loss to the garrison.

Upon a review taken, May 29th, the total of soldiers in the garrison of Worcester, including officers, amounted to 1507, besides the gentlemen and the city bands. The force of the besiegers, after the reinforcement had joined them from Ludlow, the castle of which had surrendered on the 27th, was supposed to be 5000 men.

During this siege, many skirmishes took place with various success; among which, the most remarkable was that which occurred on the 12th of June, at St. John's. The parliament forces, consisting of eight colours of foot, and 200 horse, drew to St. John's, which they lined with musquetry,

and quartered the rest of their foot behind the tower, to block up the city on the west side of the river. At eleven o'clock that night, a strong sally was made from the town upon their quarters, with 500 foot and 200 horse, with a view to dislodge them, and to burn that part called Cripplegate, which hindered a sight of the town and street. This attack was made with such resolution, that, notwithstanding the parliament troops had strongly barricaded all the avenues, the assailants, some by highways, and others by the back parts of the houses, entered the passages, and drove them out, though some of them took refuge in the church. In this sally, 100 of the parliament forces were killed, and 10 taken prisoners: three colours and one drum were also taken. Of the royalists, Capt. Chapman and five gentlemen were killed, and fifteen wounded. (1)

Whilst these operations were carrying on, four expresses had been dispatched to the king from Worcester to know his pleasure respecting it, who never returned. A female messenger was sent, but no instruction was obtained. It was now near the middle of July, and a want of discipline was prevailing among the royal troops, and great disorder pervaded the whole

(1) *Notices respecting the Siege of Worcester.*

June 2, a great iron culverin burst at St. Martin's gate, and wounded the best engineer and a matross. 11th, a cannon ball struck the bishop's palace; 13th, one of the four pieces of ordnance fired into the town that day, killed a poor man and his wife, who were in bed in the Trinity. 14th, Sir Rowland Berkley's house in the corn-market, was much damaged by the ordnance. 15th, Captain Hodgkins, an officer of horse, called "Wicked Will," for his desperateness and valour, sallied out with 16 horse, in a drunken exploit, and attacked the besiegers court of guard in St. John's, killed one, and returned safe, though so drunk that he fell twice by the way, and was carried over the Severn in a boat half asleep. On the same day, the cannon at the key played at that guard, and killed five men at the back of the Swan inn, St. John's. 24th, An iron saker broke at the Blockhouse, one piece, 160lb. weight, fell upon the Rose and Crown inn, near St. Helen's church, and some in Broad-street; it wounded four persons. The cessation of arms, which had taken place on the 27th, ending on the 29th, the first cannon was fired at the besiegers by the governor himself, and did execution. The cannon at the Castle-hill shot the steeple at St. John's. One of the culverins at the Severn hit the great cannon at Rogers's hill. July 4th, a ball from Barnshall went over the college, and fell in Broad-street. 5th, A smart skirmish took place, begun by the besieged, in which the governor assisted; it lasted near an hour, although one man only was wounded. This skirmish is indeed more remarkable for the needless risk the governor ran of being either killed or captured, and the town consequently endangered, than for any importance it was of to either party; his own horse, and that of Colonel Walsh, were wounded. 6th, Capt. Wicked Will made a second sally; behaved most gallantly, and brought in seven prisoners. 10th, A shot from the top of Perry-wood hill, towards the Red-hill cross, hit the priory gate, being a long mile distant from the works. 11th, Two brass sling pieces were carried to the top of the tower, which commands Windmill hill. 12th, A ball fired from Rogers's hill, struck the town hall, and rolled from thence to the Earl's post, a distance of forty yards.

city. Provisions began to fail ; and ammunition was so far exhausted, that the garrison had not powder to sustain an hour's contest, should the town be stormed. No reinforcement of troops had arrived, or could now be hoped for from the king, either to strengthen the garrison or to attempt the raising of the siege ; on the contrary, General Fairfax's army, consisting of 10,000 foot, and 5000 horse, being, on the surrender of Oxford, at liberty to act where occasion might require, were daily expected in aid of the besiegers : these combined circumstances, and a variety of other considerations not less important, induced the governor to hearken to the repeated solicitations made to him to enter into a treaty with Colonel Whalley, for the surrender of the city. Meantime an order had been communicated by the king to both houses of parliament, dated from Newcastle the 10th of June, for the surrender of all towns, castles, and forts, and to disband all the forces in his service throughout the kingdom.

On the credit of the printed copy of that order, a treaty was accordingly opened with Colonel Whalley ; but it was strongly objected to by some, who contended, that " their orders from the king were to hold out till they heard from his majesty." Much division arose among the gentlemen who had been called to a council held at the bishop's palace, in which the prelate acted as a temperate moderator, whether to treat or not ; this question, after a long and stormy debate, was at length carried, unanimously, in the affirmative.

About the 10th of July, Major-general Reynesborough succeeded Col. Whalley in the command of the besieging army ; and, according to their own accounts, having made his approaches so near to the city as to terrify the inhabitants, they, in a kind of mutinous manner, pressed the governor to hasten the surrender. Thus critically circumstanced, he felt himself warranted to address the following letter

" To Major-general Rainsbourow, Commander in Chief of the forces before this city of Worcester.

" Sir,

" This city was first summoned by your General (Fairfax) upon promise of honourable terms, and hath been since invited to a treaty by Colonel Whalley. In order to which (upon assurance of the rendition of Oxford, and credence of his majesty's printed letter) we of this city offered propositions, with the reservation, that if any demands on our parts might seem

too high, or any denial on yours, to trench too much upon our honours, neither side should so insist upon their own sense, as not to submit to better reason, which was mutually assented unto. On this foot we left them, being assured, upon the word and honour of your commissioners, we should receive an account of them within a few days; if that resolution be altered, we shall desire to have a clear and perfect answer; that the world may be the judge between us, upon whose score the effusion of so much innocent blood shall rest; since, in conformity to his majesty's command, we do not decline the rendering of this city upon honourable and equal conditions. So I remain, Sir, your humble servant,

Worcester, 16 July, 1646.

HENRY WASHINGTON." (1)

A parley commenced immediately, and was carried on by the gentlemen who had been chosen on each side to conduct the treaty with much gallantry and prudence, and the result produced the articles on which Worcester was surrendered, and which were signed by the governor and Major-general Reynesborough, 19th July, 1646. (2)

(1) Coe's Perfect Occurrences, 30th week, July 1646. (2) See the articles of the surrender in Dr. Nash, vol. II. p. ciii. in Append. from a MS. of Mr. Townshend, of Elmley Lovet, who was in the city during the whole siege, and kept a regular diary of the most material occurrences. The seventh article of that account stipulates, "that the garrisons of Worcester, Evesham, Strensham, Hartlebury, and Maddresfield be disgarrisoned; and the Bishop of Worcester, Sir William Russell, and Colonel Lygon be restored to their houses and estates." This, however, we may suppose was not agreed to, from its not appearing in any of the articles of the surrender published by the parliament, of which none of their accounts state more than the six first articles. [Ibid. Coe's Perfect Occurrences.]

The last of those six articles, which stipulates, "That Sir Wm. Russell, now resident within the city of Worcester, be exempted from any benefit by these articles," was strongly opposed and protested against by most of the gentlemen of the city and garrison, who thought it extremely dishonourable to deliver up any gentleman who had so faithfully served his majesty, into the hands of his enemies; alleging, "it was as much as consenting to his murder, if he should be put to death; and, as one of the prince's commanders, that he ought to have soldiers' conditions upon surrender, as well as any one else." But Sir William himself carried this matter with a gallant and gentlemanly resolution, declaring, "he would tender himself to General Reynesborough for their good." He modestly also refused the general intention of an intercession in his behalf to Sir Thomas Fairfax. The honour of the noblemen and gentlemen was not, however, to be satisfied without an exertion to ward off the danger that awaited this brave royalist, and a letter was prepared by them for that purpose to General Fairfax; from whom, before it had been sent off, assurances were received, that Sir William Russell should be used like a gentleman, and that Major-general Reynesborough should have him as his prisoner.

"The house, upon some special informations, ordered, that the late Bishop of Worcester, Sir William Russell, and the late mayor of Worcester, shall be sent for up into safe custody, to answer such things as shall be against them objected." [Cole's and Blaikelock's Perfect Diurnal. Monday, Dec. 7th, 1646. p. 1408.]

On Thursday the 23d, the garrison of Worcester, with a great number of persons (1) to whom passes and protections were delivered, marched out, and General Reynesborough entered the city. On the morrow he commanded all the citizens to bring in their arms upon pain of death; and on the 25th, says the journalist, "they begin to inventory men's estates; demand great arrears of contribution, 25 per cent. of every man's estate; then make him a delinquent, and squeeze him, so that he cannot recover in an age. Thus this ancient city was delivered up into the hands of the parliament; being the first of cities that declared for the crown, and the last which held in defence thereof."

BATTLE OF WORCESTER, 1651.

A respite of five years only from the horrors of civil commotion, during which interval the death, or rather as they saw it, the murder of Charles I. had taken place, the city of Worcester, for the third time within the space of nine years, was again the scene of slaughter of kindred subjects, in a cause now arrived at its last crisis, and to which its citizens, who had been subdued, but not conquered, still attached a truly Roman firmness of support.

(1) The following persons marched out of Worcester on its surrender, Thursday, July 23d, 1646, viz. The Earl of Shrewsbury, Lord Talbot, Lord Brereton. Sir Edward Littleton, Sir Ralph Clare, Sir Rowland Berkley, Sir John Winford, Sir Edward Watson, Sir Thomas Edwards, Sir Robert Lowe, Sir William Bridges, Sir Martin Sandys, Sir Jo. le Hunt, Sir Tho. Dabridgcourt, Sir Cha. Lloyd, Sir John Knotsford, Sir John Crosland, Sir William Russell,* Sir Barnaby Scudamore, Knights.

Henry Townsend, Henry Bromley, Ralph Godwin, William Dansy, Anth. Langstone, Ed. Pennel, James Ingram, Joseph Walsh, Walter Hanford, Robert Peckham, Jo. Culpepper, J. Hanbury, William Massey, Will. Babington, Edward Bysden, Edw. Evans, Joseph Cox, Tho. Hornyold, Will. Sheldon, Tho. Russell, Edw. Sheldon, Tho. Acton, Will. Childe, Daniel Sparrey, James Eastland, Geo. Manwaring, Cha. Paulet, Rich. Robbins, Wallop Brabaston, Thomas Winfield, Fran. Wye, Will. Brereton, Edmund Pershal, Andrew White, Samuel Holland, Cyprian Moore, Will. Bade, Will. Flare, Edm. Downey, Humphrey Weld, Geo. Weld, Tho. Savage, Tho. Connisby, Jo. Bromley, Esquires. Colonels 10. Lieutenant Colonels 8; majors 16; captains 70; lieutenants 49; cornets 24; ensigns 40; one bishop; many doctors, parsons, vicars, and curates: ladies not a few.

There were found in the town 3000 soldiers, whereof townsmen near 2000; 3000 stand of arms, 28 cannon, drakes 6, and sling-pieces; powder about 30 barrels, match 6000; corn and malt for six months, [Cole's and Blaikelock's Perfect Diurnal, No. 157, p. 1256, 1257.] There were killed during this siege on the side of the royalists, 1 officer, and 16 privates; wounded 17 privates. On the side of the parliament, 2 officers, and 147 privates were killed, and 54 privates wounded.

* A very good portrait of Sir William Russell, Bart. from whom the late Lady Withers was descended, is now in the possession of Sir Charles Trubshaw Withers, Knt. at Worcester.

On Friday morning, 22d of August 1651, King Charles the Second with his army from Stirling in Scotland, commanded under him by the Dukes of Hamilton and Buckingham, the Earls of Lauderdale and Middleton, David Lesley, Montgomery, Wilmot, Wentworth, and other leading men of both nations, arrived at, and possessed themselves of, Worcester, after a slight opposition from the parliament forces who were in possession of it. (1) The common council of the city had directed the gates, which the soldiery had shut, to be thrown open to the king on his approach, or to burn them down. The order was obeyed.

At the entrance of the king into Worcester, Thomas Lysons, Esq. the then mayor, carried the sword before his majesty; and on Saturday the 23d he was proclaimed with great solemnity King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, by the mayor, the sheriff, and the whole magistracy of the city. On the same day the king published his manifesto or declaration, thereby inferring his wrongs, and withal exhorting the people to assist in establishing him in his rights to the throne of his ancestors. At the rendezvous held in consequence of this general summons, on the 26th, in Pitchcroft, there appeared Francis Lord Talbot (afterwards Earl of Shrewsbury), Sir John Pakington, Sir Walter Blount, Sir Ralph Clare, Sir Rowland Berkley, Sir John Winford, and some others, with a reinforcement of about 2000 men, which added to the king's army, amounted to about 12,000, and those not the most completely equipped for a field of battle. The Earl of Derby, with 1500 men had been intercepted and defeated at Wigan, in Lancashire, in his way to join the king, and himself wounded in the mouth. (2) He, how-

(1) In the beginning of the narrative declaring the grounds and reasons for setting apart Friday, the 24th day of October, 1651, for a day of public thanksgiving, the reasons supposed to have influenced the king in selecting Worcester as the place best suited for him to commence his operations in England against the republican army, are thus summarily stated. "The 22d of August, with 500 horse and dragoons, about noon, he (the king) entered Worcester, than which, no place seemed more to answer all his ends, it being a city seated on the Severn, within 12 miles of five counties, near unto Gloucester, the forest of Dean and South Wales, where Massey (who was a little before called off from the E. of Derby to serve this design) pretended his greatest interest to be; and by gaining that place, the enemy well knew he should be master of all the passes upon Severn from Shrewsbury to Gloucester (and there not being 100 of the parliament's forces within 20 miles of him) he might lie the more secure for refreshing his wearied men, employ his interest to get what additional strength he could from those parts, or at least might make it a winter war; and thereby gaine time for forrain assistance, and better opportunity for his agents to stir up tumults in England, and for raising a new army in Scotland under the Earle of Leven (whom he had left gen. there for that purpose), to come also into England." [Ibbitson's Proceedings in Parliament, No. 105, p. 1622.]

(2) Carte's Hist. of Eng. vol. IV. p. 637, 638.

ever, effected his escape to Worcester, where he tendered his personal service to the king, which was accepted. (1)

Cromwell, who had suspected the king of a design of getting into England, on the first favourable occasion, soon prepared to follow him. He accordingly began his march from St. Johnstone's, to which he had laid siege on the 3d of August, and on the 28th appeared with an army of 17,000 men on Red-hill, a mile to the east of Worcester, a route of near 300 miles, and fixed his head quarters at Spetchley, at the house of Judge Berkley. This force, added to those already arrived under the Generals Fleetwood, Lambert, and Harrison, augmented by the Suffolk and Essex forces that joined them on the 31st, under Sir Thomas Honiwood and Colonel Cooke, formed an army of upwards of 30,000 men, chiefly cavalry.

The day of the Lord General's arrival was marked by the commencement of hostilities. The quarters of the royal army then lay very large on the western side of the Severn, reaching nearly as far as Malvern hills, and on the river as low as Upton, the bridge of which was broken, and Major-general Massey, with a detachment of five hundred horse, and a few dragoons, was posted there to defend the pass of the Severn. On the morning of that day Major-general Lambert, with a regiment of horse and three troops of dragoons from Evesham, joined by some horse from the main army, about 10 o'clock arrived at the pass, not so much with a view of attacking, as of reconnoitering it. Perceiving, however, a slender guard upon duty, he ordered a few dragoons to get possession of the church, the situation of which commanded the pass; a service they performed with little annoyance. The time occupied before Massey's troops could assemble to oppose them, allowed a strong party of Lambert's horse to cross the river about pistol-shot below the bridge, in support of the detachment who had now taken possession of the church; but not before Massey's troops had begun to attack them, by ineffectually firing their pistols, and thrusting their swords in at the windows; whilst the party within, more secure and deliberate in their defence, returned their fire, and killing three or four of the besiegers, with eight or nine of their horses, threw them into disorder, which now became augmented by the approach of the troops that had made good their landing in aid of the besieged. The confusion they were thrown into was not to be overcome; it terminated in a complete route of the whole detach-

(1) Hist. of the Revolutions in England under the Stuarts, p. 153.

ment, which retreated into Worcester. In this attack Major-general Massey was dangerously wounded : his enemies, however, have done justice to his personal bravery, in their report of the dislodgement of his troops, by saying, " indeed Massey brought up their rear when they turned about very stoutly ; at least 40 carbines were shot at him within half pistol shot, and he was for certain shot through the hand, and through the thigh." (1) His horse was killed under him.

This important achievement gave infinite advantage to the Oliverian troops : the bridge was repaired, and a force of upwards of 10,000 men immediately posted there to preserve the pass. The royal army, upon this defeat, thought it necessary to contract their quarters on that side of the Severn to within two miles of the city, which was now fiercely bombarded by the Lord General. The fort royal had been repaired, and in turn fired on the enemy, " as if " (according to their remark) " they feared never to want powder or bullets."

The king in council determined on the following night to have an abrupt interview with his foe. To that end a select party of horse and foot was chosen, to the number of 1500 men, part of whom were directed to attack a post about two miles out of the city, guarded by about 200 musqueteers ; and the other to make an attack on the enemy's camp ; but the scheme was frustrated by treachery. The parliament's army being apprized of their design, defeated them at the out-post, killing eleven of their men, who were found in the morning dead on the highway. Of the other party, who gallantly made a full charge on Colonel Fairfax's regiment, three of the privates were killed. One who had been supposed by the enemy to have been a lieutenant-colonel by his dress, " coming very boldly up, and leaping over a hedge, rushed upon a stand of pikes, and so (as his victors termed it) lost his life in a vapour." (2) This officer proved to be Major Knox.

Between five and six in the morning of the 3d of September, Lieutenant-general Fleetwood had orders to advance with his brigade, together with

(1) Ibbitson's Proceedings in Parliament, p. 1559.

(2) Ibid. p. 1560. In a letter from Spetchley, dated 31st August, it is said, this sally had been rendered abortive by the villainy of one Guyes a tailor in Worcester, who had betrayed their signals to the enemy, which was, wearing their shirts over their armour ; for this service he received his reward ; he was hanged the day following. " Thursday, Sept. 9th, 1651, the parliament voted that Mrs. Guyes, whose husband was executed by the King of Scots at Worcester, for giving our forces intelligence of the enemy's signal, should have £ 200. in money, and £ 200. per annum. [Clowes's Perfect Passages, No. 57. p. 376. No. 54.]

the troops under Major-general Deane, and the Colonels Ingoldsby, Goff, and Gibbons, from Upton to Powyck ; a bridge was thrown over the Teme, and another over the Severn was forming near the conflux of those rivers, to open a communication with the army on the east of the city, with the forces now entering upon service on the west of the Severn. This eventful scene had been anxiously beheld in its progress from the top of the cathedral tower, by a council of war convened there by the king ; and the firing which had begun between Fleetwood's detachment and those of the king's party that lined the hedges between Upton and Powyck, was clearly discerned. It was on this discovery that the king in person set forward to give orders to Major-general Robert Montgomery, who, with Colonel George Keyth had the command of a royal brigade of horse and foot at Powyck bridge, to maintain that pass with the utmost of their power, and to detach a party to oppose the finishing of the bridge of boats over the Severn, and after giving those directions, his majesty returned to the city, where his whole force, who had been ordered to arms, were now in readiness for action. But the king's instructions were rendered ineffectual by the enemy ; the bridge over the Severn was completed ; the detachment from Upton cleared its way by scouring the hedges and defiles that obstructed them ; whilst the force that now made way over the Severn, drove in those troops that were sent to oppose them. The right wing of the brigade under General Fleetwood having crossed the Teme, and the left arrived at Powyck bridge, they drove in the foot of the royalists " to their main body of horse and foot which was drawn up in Wikefield, near Powyck bridge, being the same field wherein the late king first engaged the forces of the parliament, in the same month of September, 1642. The republican horse and foot marched up with great resolution to their enemies body, and came to push of pike with them, and after a contest of nearly two hours, drove them back, and wholly routed them, killing many upon the place, and pursuing the rest to the drawbridge and gate of the city." (1) In this action Colonel Keyth was left a prisoner, and Montgomery was severely wounded. Cromwell himself was the first that landed on the west side of the Severn, over the

(1) From the detailed particulars of the battle of Worcester, officially drawn up, and published by the authority of the parliament, preceding the declaration of the " grounds and reasons for setting apart Friday, the 24th day of October, 1651, for a day of public thanksgiving." [Ibbitson's Proceedings in Parliament, No. 105, p. 1622.]

bridge of boats, and acted on foot against his enemy, who lined the hedges in his way to the scene of action ; and from whence, having witnessed the complete success of the enterprize, he returned to his main army to prepare them for the approaching battle.

The principal part of his force was settled in an advantageous position at Perry wood, at the south end of which a strong breast-work was raised ; and a battery of great guns was also opened against the fort royal.

It was drawing towards evening when the king, with the Dukes of Buckingham and Hamilton, Lord Grandison, Sir Alexander Forbes, and many others of the English nobility, marched the main body of the royal army, horse and foot, out at Sidbury gate, to make the grand attack on that part of the Cromwellian forces that remained on that side of the town, under the persuasion, that most of their troops had been drawn over to the other side of the Severn, and that, by being thus divided, they were consequently weakened. The principal part of them, however, were found on their post, awaiting the approach of their adversary, with Cromwell at their head.

No sooner had the royal army taken their ground and formed, than by the command and encouragement of the king, a general charge was given. The contest was eager, fierce, and resolute, and prosecuted with equal bravery on both sides for three or four hours. The scale of victory turned first in favour of the royalists, before whom their enemy retreated in disorder, and left them in the actual possession of their great guns. (1) At this juncture, however, new supplies arriving from the other side of the Severn in considerable numbers, joining and supporting the parliament army, and the main body of the Scottish horse not coming timely up from the town to the king's aid, after sustaining a very unequal conflict for a considerable time, fighting with the but-ends of their muskets after expending all their ammunition, and giving every proof of undaunted valour, the royalists were at length overpowered, and the king, with his worn-out troops, forced to retreat, in great disorder, back again through Sidbury gate into the city. (2)

(1) The honour of this achievement appears to belong to the Duke of Hamilton's regiment, which, after passing a lane, the hedges of which were lined with two bodies of foot that greatly annoyed them, they made good the pass, routed a troop of horse and foot stationed near the battery, and made themselves masters of the guns. [Burner's Mem. of the Dukes of Hamilton, p. 428. (2) The king would certainly have been taken by Cromwell's cavalry, who were close at his heels, had not one of the inhabitants drawn a load of hay into the gateway, which blocked up the passage, so that no horse could enter. The king was obliged to dismount, and creeping under the hay, entered the city on foot. A cry being made to remount the king,

He now perceived many of the Scottish foot to throw down their arms, and decline the battle. This, indeed was no more than what Lesley had before intimated to him, by saying, that as well as they appeared they would not fight. He now experienced it fully. Nor was he so ill a judge of probabilities, as to imagine they were able to oppose a veteran army, flushed with success, and masters of the treasures of the nation. Notwithstanding which, he used every argument to persuade them; riding up and down amongst them, with his hat in his hand, exhorting them to stand to their arms, and fight like men; urging and alleging the justice of the cause they fought in. But finding all his entreaties in vain, he exclaimed, "I had rather you would shoot me, than keep me alive to see the sad consequences of this day."

During this engagement, Lambert's party, on the other side of the river, possessed themselves of St. John's; the brigade of his majesty's foot, commanded there by Major-general Daliel, after a slight resistance surrendered.

The Earl of Rothes, Sir William Hamilton, and Colonel Drummond, with a party of Scots, defended the Castle hill with great bravery and integrity, till terms of capitulation were agreed upon.

The enemy having carried the fort royal by storm, put all the troops found in it to the sword, because they had refused to surrender on the first summons. (1) Its guns were now pointed at and fired into the town, and the dismay and consternation, which had now become general, was heightened by the entrance of the victors, who, having borne down every obstacle, poured into the city on all sides with irresistible impetuosity. The king, not unmindful of his unhappy condition, sought means of safety, by making his escape with Lord Wilmot, the back way of the house where he quartered, narrowly avoiding the close pursuit of Colonel Cobbet, who entered the foreway of the house, at the same time, in quest of him. (2)

Mr. William Bagnal, a loyal gentleman who then lived in Sidbury, turned out his horse ready saddled; upon this horse his majesty (after the fate of the battle had been decided,) escaped from Worcester. This anecdote was transcribed by Dr. Nash from the papers of Bishop Thomas, whose eldest daughter was married to a son of Mr. Bagnal. [See Vol. II. p. cvi. in Appendix.]

(1) It is probable this exploit was performed by the Essex troops, whose colours the lord general commanded to be set up in the fort. [Ibbitson's Proceedings in Parliament, No. 102. p. 1566, 1567.]

(2) In a letter from Paris, Oct. 31st, 1651, it is said, "The Scots king told them at the Louvre, (the queen his mother, and the court) how he slipped out of Worcester, and how near he was taking there, first in the fort, and after in his chamber." [Ibbitson's Proceedings, No. 109. p. 1690.]

The Earl of Cleveland, Sir James Hamilton, the Colonels Wogan, Carlis, and Slaughter, the Captains Hornyold, Giffard, Astley, and Kemble, Mr. Peter Blount, and others, rallied what forces they could, and again charged the enemy in Sidbury and the High-street ; which though unsuccessful with respect to victory, was yet of singular service to the unfortunate king, by diverting the attention of the Oliverians, whilst he made his escape through St. Martin's gate, who, otherwise, had been taken prisoner in the city.

At the town-hall the royalists made their last stand, no less unsuccessful than any of their former. In this dispute, Mr. Coningsby Colles and several others were slain, Sir James Hamilton and Capt. Kemble (1) desperately wounded, and many were taken prisoners.

The parliament army, now masters of the city, gave way to the most atrocious acts of outrage that the meanness of rapacity could stimulate in the dark mind of a sanguinary puritan : and although ostensible authority for a general pillage was not absolutely given by Cromwell, it is as certain that not the least restraint was put upon the brutal violence of his ruffian troops, who fell to ravaging and plundering without mercy, few or none of the devoted citizens escaping their cruelty.

The chief persons slain in the course of this battle were, the Duke of Hamilton, whose horse was also killed under him, Captain William Erwyne, Major Knox, Sir John Douglas, and Mr. Coningsby Colles ; about 3000 private men were also killed. The chief prisoners were the Earls of Derby and Lauderdale, taken in pursuit by Colonel Lilburn ; the Earls of Cleveland and Shrewsbury, Lord Wentworth, and others, taken also in flight ; as

The house at the corner of the north end of New-street, on its east side, is said to have been the king's quarters whilst at Worcester. The tradition is handed down in strong and direct terms by the oldest inhabitants of the city, and by the relatives of the proprietors and possessors of the house at that time, whose names were Durant. The room in which the king slept faces the corn-market. Over the entrance of the house is this inscription, " LOVE GOD. [W. B. 1577. R. D.] HONOR THE KINGE." It is the largest of the old houses in the city.* Mr. Cooksey has, however, stated strong evidence also that the king's " secret quarters" were at the White Ladies.† But, unless we allow that he had both public and private quarters, the one within and the other without the walls, we can hardly suppose he would have taken up his residence at such a distance from the town, in which his presence was every moment required.

(1) He was captain-lieutenant to the Earl of Talbot. He received eleven wounds. Living in 1675.

* Supplement to the Gentleman's Magazine for 1790, p. 1191.

† Cooksey's Essay on the Lives of Lord Somers, and the Earl of Hardwicke, p. 4, 5.

were Major-general Massey, (1) Lieutenant-general David Lesley, and Lieutenant-general Middleton. Sir Alexander Forbes, commander of the fort royal, was shot through both the calves of his legs, lay in Perry wood all night, and was next day brought prisoner to Worcester. Robert Earl of Carnwarth, Alexander Earl of Kelly, John Lord St. Clare, Lord Grandison, Sir John Pakington, the Major-generals Montgomery and Piscotty, Colonel Keyth, Mr. Richard Fanshaw, (2) the king's secretary, the general of the ordnance, adjutant-general of foot, marshal-general, six colonels of horse, 13 of foot, 9 lieutenant-colonels of horse, 8 of foot, 6 majors of horse, 13 of foot, 37 captains of horse, 72 of foot, with a great number of inferior officers, were also taken prisoners: 158 colours, the king's standard, his collar of S. S. his coach and horses, and other things of great value, fell into the hands of the victors.

This memorable battle was the decision of the controversy so long subsisting between the king and parliament, during that horrid din of despotism and usurpation, and the last of any consequence fought on that account; the fortune of which gave to the latter the entire government of the three kingdoms.

The king having escaped the dangers of the field, and the snares of treachery, was conducted from Worcester to Boscobel, where he was hospitably entertained, and carefully concealed from those keen hunters of royal blood, by Mr. Richard Pendrill, and from thence safely conveyed on his way to France. (3)

(1) Having reached Leicestershire, and unable to proceed farther from the badness of his wounds, Massey surrendered himself prisoner to the Countess of Stamford, who caused his wounds to be carefully dressed, and sending information to parliament of the occurrence, he was ordered up to London, and sent to the Tower to await his trial. [Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 363: and Ibbitson's Proceedings, No. 103, p. 1584.]

(2) He was made a baronet after the Restoration, and sent Ambassador to Spain. Cromwell had a great respect for him, and would have bought him off to his service at any rate. His health being impaired by his confinement, Cromwell obtained his enlargement upon 4000*l.* bail, notwithstanding it was strongly objected to by Sir Henry Vane, by saying, "he would be instrumental for all he knew to hang them all who sat there (at the council) if ever he had opportunity." [From MS. Memoirs by Lady Fanshaw, addressed to her son.]

(3) Mrs. Wyndham's Boscobel. During his continuance there, he was some time concealed in the boughs of a large oak, in Boscobel wood, from whence it acquired the dignified appellation of the Royal Oak. At the time when this singular occurrence took place, this oak was in its fullest growth, and its boughs much covered with ivy. The curiosity of travellers had nearly cut its trunk in two, when Basil Fitz-Herbert, Esq. fenced its remains round with a handsome brick wall, and placed a suitable inscription over its gate, in gold letters, which remained till 1784, when the stone was broken and the wall thrown down. [See Gough's Add. to

NOTICES RESPECTING THE BATTLE OF WORCESTER, 1651.

In Leach's "Diurnal of the Proceedings of the Army," No. 91. p. 1287, the first account of this victory received by the parliament, is given in a letter, written by Cromwell, dated the 4th of Sept. 1651, in which he states the royal army to have been about 16,000 men; that the battle was long, and very near at hand; often at push of pike; and that his own loss did not exceed 200 men. And in another, written by Colonel Robert Stapylton, dated the 3d of September, in which he says, "this day hath been a very glorious day; this day twelvemonth was glorious at Dunbar; the word then was, *The Lord of Hosts*," and so it was now. The same signal we had now as then, which was *to have no white about us*." He also says, their quarter-master-general (Mosley) and Captain Jones were slain, and Captain Howard, of the life guard, was wounded. But the following letter from Cromwell, written the night of the battle, and comprehending the substance of those letters, excepting the foregoing extracted particulars, will give the most faithful view of the event, as beheld in its first state by the victor himself.

"A Letter from the Lord Generall, for the Honourable William Lenthall, Esquire, Speaker of the Parliament.

"SIR,

"Being so weary, and scarce able to write, yet I thought it my duty to let

Camden, Vol. II. in Shropshire, p. 419.] At his Restoration the king graciously rewarded Mr. Pendrill for his services, confirming to him and his heirs, perpetually, an annuity of 100l. per ann. Among the MSS. presented by Mr. Pepys to Magdalen college, Cambridge, is one entitled "An account of his Majesty's escape from Worcester, dictated to Mr. Pepys by the king himself." It appears to have been written at Newmarket, and is dated, Sunday, Oct. 3d, and Tuesday, Oct. 5th, 1680. The following passage in the king's narrative, does the brotherhood of the Pendrill's the highest honour: "There were six brothers of the Pendrills, who all of them knew the secret" (of his concealment and disguise) "and (as I have since learned from one of them) the man in whose house I changed my clothes, came to one of them about two days after, and asking him where I was, told him that they might get 1000l. if they would tell, because there was that sum laid upon my head; but this Pendrill was so honest, that, though he at that time knew where I was, he bade him have a care what he did; for that I, being gone out of all reach, if they should now discover I had ever been there, they would get nothing but hanging for their pains." p. 9, 10, 11. A descendant of the Pendrills, of the name of John, is now living in Worcester. His pretensions to the inheritance of the royal grant, have been approved by many who have inquired into and examined them. The preservers of kings in another nation are proscribed characters. It is pity, however, that in any kingdom those who had deserved so well should be forgotten, "or that their seed should be neglected." Qu.—Who last enjoyed this pension?

you know thus much. That upon this day, being the third of September, (remarkable for a mercy vouchsafed to your forces on this day twelvemonth in Scotland) we built a bridge over Severn, between it and Thame, about half a mile from Worcester, and another over Thame within pistol shot of the other bridge. Lieut. generall Fleetwood, (1) and Major generall Deane, marched from Upton, on the south-west side of the Severn, up to Powick, a town which was a passe the enemy kept. We past over some horse and foot, and were in conjunction with the lieutenant-generall's forces. We beat the enemy from hedge to hedge, till we beat them into Worcester. The enemy then drew all his forces on the other side of the town, all but what he lost, and made a very considerable fight with us for *three* hours space; but in the end we beate them totally, and pursued him to his royal fort, which we tooke, and indeed have beaten his whole army.

"When we took this fort, we turned his owne guns upon him. The enemy hath had a great losse, and certainly is scattered and run severall wayes: we are in pursuite of him, and have laid forces in severall places, that we hope will gather him up.

"Indeed this hath been a very glorious mercy, and as stiffe a contest for *four* or *five* houres, as ever I have seen: both your old forces and those new raised, have behaved themselves with very great courage, and he that made them come out, made them willing to fight for you. The Lord God Almighty frame our hearts to reall thankfulnesse, for this which is alone his doing. I hope I shall within a day or two, give you a more perfect account; in the mean time I hope you will pardon, Sir, your most humble servant,

Near Worcester, 3 Sept. (3) 1651, 10 at night. O. CROMWELL." (2)

(1) Son-in-law to Cromwell; he and General Lambert so won the regard of Oliver in this battle, that it was with difficulty he was prevented from knighting them. [Noble's Memoirs of the Protectoral House of Cromwell, vol. II. p. 355.]

(2) Ibbitson's Proceedings in Parliament, No. 102. p. 1565.

(3) Friday, Sept. 5, 1651. In parliament, "Resolved upon the question, that an act be brought in to appoint an annual observation of the third day of September,* in commemoration of this wonderful mercy." [Ibid. p. 1571.]

* This may certainly be ranked as a singularly eventful day in the annals of those times. The battles of Dunbar, 1650, and of Worcester, 1651, so fatal to the cause of royalty, were signally propitious to Republicanism and to Cromwell. The instrument framed to be the foundation of his government, provided as its second head, "that the first parliament should assemble on the 3d Sept. 1654." [Noble's Memoirs of the Protectoral House of Cromwell, vol. I. p. 119. Ed. 2.] It was also the day that terminated his greatness in his death, Sept. 3, 1658.

The following cant is in the true spirit of the times. "Mr. Peters (1) (after the fight, and when there was an opportunity to draw the militia regiments together) gave them five observations, to meditate upon as they went home.

"1. To think better of God than ever they had done, and go home with their faces *shining*, having spoken with *him* on the *mount*.

"2. To think aright of our army, whom they saw so willing to do the work.

"3. To study themselves, as unworthy and unlikely to be preserved, and yet made the monuments of mercy; not to go home boasting, but humble and wondering.

"4. To mind the enemy, who was very strong and cruel.

"5. To think well of the *present government*, who was so watchful for the whole.

"Lastly, when their wives and children should ask them where they had been, and what news, they should say they had been at Worcester, where England's sorrows began, and where they were happily ended." (2)

In the accounts received from Worcester, Sept. 6, "things were there in great confusion. Lords, knights, and gentlemen, were then plucking out of holes, by the soldiers; the common prisoners they were driving into the cathedral; and what with the dead bodies of men, and the dead horses of the enemy filling the streets, there was such nastiness that a man could hardly abide in the town; yet the lord general had his quarters in Worcester, the walls whereof he hath ordered to be pulled down to the ground, and the dykes filled up. (3)

The prisoners of rank taken at Worcester, in the custody of the marshal general, were thus disposed of to await their fate. In the Tower, the Earls of Cleveland, Rothes, Kelly, and Corneway, the Lords Sinclair, Spany, and Grandison, Major-generals Massey, Piscotty, and Deal.

At Windsor castle, Major General James White, Lieut. General James Weymis. Colonels Sir George and Sir William Keyth, Sir Thomas Thompson, with other general officers and colonels; and in various parts of Westminster; at the Artillery ground, and Chelsea, nearly five hundred others of inferior rank, with many of their sick and wounded at Hicks's hall. At Worcester, Major General Montgomery, Sir James Hamilton, Sir Alexander Forbes, (4) and Sir John Douglas, remained under cure. The mayor

(1) A bigotted puritan preacher.

(2) Leach's Diurnal, No. 93. p. 1292.

(3) Ibid.

(4) The first knight made by the king in Scotland.

and sheriff of Worcester, were ordered to be tried at Stafford or Chester, (1) in which last place the Earls of Derby and Lauderdale, and the Generals Lesley and Middleton were prisoners, of whom, in a letter from thence, dated Sept. 16, the following curious accounts are given.

“The Earl of Derby is very insinuating; he hath as many fetches as a jesuite, some *camera* he would faine imagine to juggle withall, as he did in his treaty not long since, holding in suspense a seeming pretension to have surrendered the Isle of Man, when indeed nothing was lesse intended. But that season wherein he might have done his country and himself good, he let slip, and hath now wilfully brought himself under the lash of justice.

“The Lord Lauderdale is in a terrible vexation, and exceeding sad and vext, he seems to be a man of a pestilent nature, and dangerous to be conversed with; and yet he keeps his flesh as fat as ever he was; but blessed be God, his insolent spirit is now overawed.

“Lieut. gen. Leshley, drinks and roares when he can get it, and takes not much care which way things go; he is vext he cannot ramble as he would; he hath fury enough, but short hornes; and pretends all his designe to have been as a souldier to his king, and builds upon that confidence.

“And Lieut. gen. Middleton is as melancholy as Leshley is mad; crying out against his misfortune in every designe he undertakes. It is well if God give him grace to repent truly, and turn to God. He hath ill requited this commonwealth for all the favour they formerly shewed to him.” (2).

The return of the Lord General to London after this important conquest, which he termed “a crowning victory,” was marked by every token of respect by all ranks of people.

It is certain, that after this event, Cromwell took upon himself a more stately behaviour, and chose new friends; and instead of acknowledging the services of those who came from all parts to assist him, he frowned upon them, and the very next day after the fight, dismissed and sent them home. (3) It appears, however, he was determined that not only the army,

(1) In a letter from Coventry, (Monday, Nov. 24, 1651) it is said, “the mayor and sheriff of Worcester, are to be conveyed by Major Knight’s troop from Warwick castle to London, for their trial, where when they arrived, they were sent prisoners to the Tower.” [Leach’s Diurnal, No. 103. p. 1469.]

(2) Ibbitson’s Proceedings.

(3) Ludlow’s Memoirs, vol. I. p. 363. In Symond’s Historic Notes, No. 991. Plut. 30. V. A. p. 90. Harl. Coll. Mus. Brit. is the following curious note: “When the king (Charles I.) was beheaded, and the body and head put in a coffin, and set in the Banqueting House, Oliver Cromwell came, with one Bowtell of Suff. near Framingham, and tryed to open

but also that the navy should have this notable service in perpetual remembrance. "Thursday, Sept. 18, 1651, this day his excellency the Lord General Cromwell, with many officers of the army, was at Woollidge at the launching of a gallant new frigot of the States, carrying three score peeces of ordnance, and called her name WORCESTER." (1) From this date, the English navy hath had a ship of the line of that name, which originated in this memorable event.

As a proof that the arts were not wholly neglected in these times of confusion, Mr. Turnor of Panton, in Lincolnshire, has a very good portrait of his ancestor, Sir Edmund Turnor, painted when he was a prisoner of war in Worcester, 1651.

1672, Dec. 23. A great flood happened on the Severn, the rise of which is marked by a plate still remaining in the wall, by the side of the river near the water-gate.

The society of broad-cloth makers of Worcester, was incorporated 2 Hen. VIII. (2) from which time, till the end of the last century, that trade was here, the most considerable of any in England. It appears from Bell's Oration (3) before Queen Elizabeth when she visited this city, that, within memory, 380 great looms, which gave maintenance to 8000 persons, had been employed in Worcester; that number, however, was then reduced to 160 looms, and 5000 persons were thence thrown out of work. The queen, upon petition, in the 32d year of her reign, A. D. 1590, with a view of reviving the falling credit of the trade, granted her charter (4) to the clothiers; and its spirit was in consequence so effectually restored, that at one time shortly afterwards, six thousand persons were employed in the trade in Worcester, and above twice that number in carding, spinning, &c. in the neighbouring towns and villages. But, from the nefarious practices of the manufacturers, its ruin soon afterwards became inevitable; by overstretching their cloths so much, when they came to Blackwell hall, they were found wanting in their measure; this, added to the obstinacy of the workmen themselves, who

the lid with his staffe, but could not; then he took Bowtell's sword, and with the pummel knockt up the lid, and looked upon the king, shewing him to Bowtell. Then at that time this Bowtell askt him, *What government wee should have? He said, the same that as now.* This Bowtell told Col. Rolston, who at first was his (the king's) great enemy and persecutor, but afterwards left the service." Col. Rolston.

(1) Leach's Diurnal, No. 93. p. 1322.

(2) Dr. Nash, in Appendix, Vol. II. p. cxvi.

(3) See Appendix to Sect. XVI. p. xlv. No. XII.

(4) Ibid. No. XVI. p. lxxi.

persisted in making a thick heavy cloth, instead of a light and spongy, which took a better dye, their best customers, the Turks, (who preferred the cloths of the last description,) from these united causes of complaint with-held their orders; and thus dwindled away by degrees one of the most valuable branches of the commerce of this kingdom, which had distinguished Worcester through every quarter of the globe to which Britain had then extended her trade.

1723. The summer assizes of this year were the first held in the present Guildhall. (1)

1724, June 11th. A severe storm of thunder and lightning here did much damage. (2)

In the year 1733, June 5, the steeple of St. Andrew's church in this city, was so much fractured by lightning, that it was obliged to be taken down and rebuilt. Other damage was done in the city at the same time.

In the spring assizes of the year 1757, a violent west wind blew down a stack of chimneys from the south wing of the Guildhall at Worcester, which fell upon the roof of the Nisi Prius bar, whilst the court was sitting, broke through the ceiling, and killed six men on the spot, who were buried in the ruins; many others were terribly bruised. Sir John Eardley Wilmot, the judge then presiding, with great difficulty escaped unhurt, by making his way close to the wall of the court, round the ruins, and through the hall door. This melancholy catastrophe put a period to the business of the assize.

1762, Aug. 11th. By an explosion of three barrels of gunpowder, occasioned by boys indiscreetly setting fire to some scattered grains of it; the warehouse, at which it was unloading in New-street, was blown up, many other buildings were much damaged, and several lives lost.

1768. December 20th two very smart shocks of an earthquake were felt in this city, between five and six o'clock in the evening; its direction was from east to west. In Herefordshire and Gloucestershire it was felt in a very alarming manner, particularly in the city of Gloucester, the cathedral of which was much shaken by it. At Droitwich, and other towns and villages in this county, it was also very sensibly felt. In Worcester no damage was sustained by it.

1770. A very great flood on the Severn did considerable damage to the

(1) Worcester Post Man, No. 738.
sophical Transactions, No. 394. p. 118.

(2) See Dr. Beard's account of it in the Philo-

parts of the city bordering on the river, and endangered the lives of many of the inhabitants; fortunately, however, none were lost. On the city wall at the water-gate is a memorial of this inundation fixed up, with the following inscription; "On the 18th of Nov. 1770, the flood rose to the lower edge of this brass plate, being ten inches higher than the flood which happened on Dec. 23, 1672."

1795. The Severn shared the fate of most of the rivers in the kingdom during the uncommon severity and length of time the frost of the last winter continued. We have before seen both that river and the Thames frozen over, but we have never before seen either event recorded in the singularly appropriate manner in which that of the Severn has been entered up. Its novelty has a claim to attention; and as a curious memorial of a remarkable occurrence attaching to Worcester, it has a legitimate claim to a place in this work. (1)

On midsummer day, 1791, and on the 12th of Feb. 1795, two of the highest and most alarming floods of the Severn known since the building of the new bridge, occurred. The first is remarkable from the day on which it happened; the last from its tremendous appearance and alarming effects, occasioned by the breaking up of the ice on the river, which choked its passage at the bridge. The waters rose precisely to the height of that which happened in 1672, and was three feet above the high water line of the bridge; which, however, withstood the torrent that foamed round it, and threatened its destruction. The following memorial of this event is fixed on the wall of the parade near the bridge: "On the 12th of February, 1795, the flood rose to the lower edge of this stone. T. P. C."

On Wednesday night, Nov. 18th, 1795, a slight shock of an earthquake was felt in this city, a few minutes before eleven o'clock. It was also felt through all the adjacent country, but providentially without doing any damage.

Such have been the sufferings of Worcester, which, phoenix-like, hath risen from her ashes with added lustre.

(1) A paper distributed to the populace assembled on the ice, contained the following notices, and apt quotation; viz. "The art of Printing was invented by Lawrence John Koster, and brought into England, by Caxton and Turner, in the year 1468."

"HIS hoary frost, HIS fleecy snow,

Descend and clothe the ground;

The liquid streams forbear to flow,

In icy fetters bound."

"Psalm cxlvii. ver. 16, 17."

"Worcester, Printed upon the Severn, January 23, 1795."

SECT. XVI.

ROYAL VISITS TO WORCESTER.

THAT our monarchs of old entertained a regard for the city of Worcester may be collected from the following passage, extracted from the annals of the church of Winchester, under the year 1042. “Rex Edwardus (scil. 1.) instituit et carta confirmavit, ut quoties ipse, vel aliquis successorum suorum Regum Angliæ, diadema portaret Wintoniæ, vel Wigornia, vel Westmonasterii; præcentor loci recipiet de fisco, ipsa die, dimidiam marcam, et conventus centum *simnellos*, et unum modium vini.” King Edward hath ordained, and by charter confirmed, that as often as he himself, or any of his successors, kings of England, shall wear the diadem at Winchester, Worcester, or Westminster, the chanter of the place shall, the same day, receive from the exchequer half a mark, and the convent 100 *simnels*, (1) and an hogshead of wine.

According to T. Rudborne, in *Angl. Sacra*, Vol. I. p. 259. William the Conqueror was accustomed, in those winters that he passed unmolested, to keep his Christmas at Worcester, his Easter at Winchester, his Pentecost at London; and at all these solemnities to be crowned. It is probable he may have passed one or more of his Christmas festivities here; but other historians say, that Gloucester was the usual scene of the Conqueror's holding that church celebration of the Nativity.

1129. King Henry I. kept his Christmas here. (2)

1139. King Stephen came to Worcester in Easter-week, and was received by a solemn procession of the clergy and laity. Stephen was, at this time, on his march to the siege of Ludlow castle; to which place, as an hostage, he was attended by the Prince Royal of Scotland. The king offered at the high altar his ring, as a votive present. (3)

1159. King Henry II. and his queen keeping their Christmas at Worcester, were crowned in the cathedral, and after the celebration of mass, made an offering of their crowns at the altar, when Henry made a solemn vow,

(1) See Cowel's *Interpreter*, vox *Simnell*. The *simnel* (from the Latin *simila*, fine flour) is yet made at Worcester, in the season of Lent. It is a sort of cake, generally about three inches in thickness; the crust, or shell, of which envelopes a layer of sweetmeats. But the *simnel*-bread of our ancestors was merely the purest white bread; “Panis regiæ mensæ aptus qui *simenel* vulgo vocatur.”

(2) Huntingdon, p. 384.

(3) *Engl. and Wales described*, p. 246.

that he would wear his crown no more. A great assembly of the nation, the usual mode of holding the parliaments, was held here at the same time. (1)

1207. King John came to Worcester in September, and performed his devotions at St. Wulstan's tomb; to which, since the year 1201, great resort had been made, on account of the fame of the miracles said to be wrought there. The king gave to the monastery one hundred marks towards the rebuilding their cloister and offices.

1214. King John kept his Christmas here. (2) At that time many of the barons petitioned him for the exercise of their ancient laws; the king promised fair, but instead of performing any thing, he collected an army, and commenced a civil war, that rendered his name and character odious to the nation.

1232. King Henry III. kept the festival of the Nativity at Worcester. (3) It was at this time that he adopted the bad policy of Peter de la Roche, Bishop of Winchester, who advised the removal of the English nobility from his councils, and supplied their places by needy Normans, of mean condition, and thereby laid the foundation of the great contention that arose between him and his barons. (4)

1234. The king kept Whitsuntide at Worcester, and there invested Gilbert Mareshall, the new Earl of Pembroke, (a younger brother of William before-mentioned) with the order of knighthood. (5)

Henry III. after the battle of Evesham, came to Worcester, where he employed himself in revoking all such grants and concessions he had been obliged to make and sign, whilst under the control of Leicester, in prejudice of himself and family.

King Edward I. (who seems to have had a predilection in favour of this city,) after his accession to the throne, made eleven visits to Worcester. The first, in September, 1276. The second, in October, 1278, when Llewellyn, Prince of Wales met him there, and was gratified with the marriage of an English heiress, daughter of Simon de Montfort. His third visit was on Christmas-eve, in 1281. The next year he came to Worcester, May 15, and held a parliament there about a military expedition against that prince. In November, 1283, we find him again at Worcester; and in March, 1289,

(1) Dr. Nash, Vol. I. note in Introd. p. xxiv.

(2) Collier's Eccl. Hist.

(3) Ann. Wig.

(4) Lambarde, p. 410.

(5) Ann. Wig.

and November 1291, (not 1292, as is set down by Dr. Thomas, in his Account of the Bishops, p. 151.) In the year 1294, he came twice to pay his devotions to St. Wulstan. In July, 1295, he came hither by water. In April, 1301, he brought his queen with him, then big with child, and took the pleasure of being rowed to Kemsey, along one of the finest rivers in his kingdom.

Henry IV. visited Worcester twice in the year 1407. (1)

1459. After the battle of Bloreheath, on the borders of Staffordshire, between the Yorkists and Lancastrians, the success of which favoured the royal party, Henry VI. came to Worcester, from whence he sent offers of pardon to the Earl of Warwick's party, which were refused by their leader. (2)

King Henry VII. his queen, Prince Arthur, and the Countess of Richmond, the king's mother, visited Worcester at the same time. (3)

1552. Jan. 25th, the Lady (Princess) Mary came to Worcester. She had not then completed the tenth year of her age. (4)

1574, Aug. 13, Queen Elizabeth did the city of Worcester the honour of her presence; at which time, among other benefactions, she made a grant of free-bench to widows whose husbands died seized of freehold-lands within the city, by which they are empowered to enjoy such freehold estate during their lives in preference to any claim that may be made by creditors, or any other claimants whatsoever, in cases of insolvency or otherwise. For a particular detail of this visit, see Appendix, No. XII. p. xxxvii.

On Sunday, 31st August, 1645, King Charles I. came with his army from Shipston upon Stour, to Worcester, where they rested till Wednesday the 3d of September, when they removed to Bromwich, in Herefordshire, where his court was, and the army lay in the fields. The guards lay at Claynes while the king was at Worcester. (5)

In 1687, King James II. leaving his queen at Bath, arrived at Worcester, in his progress to Cheshire, on the 23d August. Bishop Thomas, who had invited his majesty to make this city in his way, received him at the gate of his palace, attended by his clergy, and in a short Latin speech, congratulated him on his arrival. His way from the gate to the palace was covered with

(1) Montague's Hist. of England.

(2) Peck's Annals of Stamford, p. 48. Art. 30.
Eliz. in Appendix, p. xlv. Sect. XVI. No. XII.

(3) See Bell's Oration before Queen

(4) Bishop Blandford's MS.

(5) Symonds's Notes on the marchings and actions of the royal army, from the 17th of August, 1645, his majesty being personally present. [No. 944. Plut. 30. V. A. p. 23. Mus. Brit.]

white broad-cloth, of the manufacture of Worcester, strewed with flowers. His majesty condescended to honour the prelate with one remark on his episcopal residence as he passed along: "My lord, this looks like Whitehall." Having refreshed himself after his journey from Gloucester, the king visited the cathedral, from whence he was conducted by Dr. Hicks, then dean of Worcester, to the college gate, to take a view of the curiosities of the town; among which the fort royal, and the site of the battle between the forces of the late king his brother, and those of Cromwell, were shewn and explained to him. The next morning, being the feast of St. Bartholomew, the king attended in the cathedral, to gratify such as offered themselves for healing: and, this ceremony performed, proceeded in great solemnity to a popish chapel, built at his accession to the throne, on the east side of the Foregate-street, preceded by the mayor and aldermen, &c. On their arrival at this oratory, his majesty asked, if they would not go in with him? to which the mayor, (Thomas Shewring, Esq.) with becoming firmness, replied, "I THINK WE HAVE ATTENDED YOUR MAJESTY TOO FAR ALREADY." Depositing the sword, therefore, before the king in the chapel, and making their reverence to him, they retired, and returned to divine service at the cathedral. When the royal devotions were finished, they were ready to escort his majesty back to the palace to dinner. An entertainment suitable to the royal guest, had been provided by the bishop; but he had the mortification, at his own table, to see a Romish priest ordered to invoke the blessing, and his own offer to do that part of his duty rejected by the king, who said, "he would spare him that trouble, for that he had a chaplain of his own." Before his majesty's departure, which was immediately after he dined, he condescended to express his approbation of the attention he had received from the gentlemen of the county, and his entertainment by the bishop. The piece of white broad-cloth was an expence to the bishop of 27*l*. which the attendants of the king took away with them, as belonging to his wardrobe. (1)

In the year 1788, his present Majesty, having resolved to pass some part of the summer at Cheltenham, in Gloucestershire, for the benefit of its medicinal waters, arrived at that place on the 12th of July, accompanied by the Queen, the Princess Royal, and the Princesses Augusta and Elizabeth. The

(1) Ludlow was the next place honoured with the royal presence in his progress, which he reached that day. [Dr. Nash, Vol. II. p. clxi. in Appendix.]

meeting of the three choirs of Worcester, Hereford, and Gloucester, by triennial rotation, was to be celebrated that year at Worcester, in the beginning of the ensuing month, and his Majesty having received information of the nature of the institution, that its object was the relief of the widows and orphans of the clergy of the three dioceses, declared his intention of honouring the meeting with his presence, to the Rev. Dr. Langford, who, with the Hon. Edward Foley, were the stewards of the meeting; and that the orchestra should receive the addition of his private band.

On Saturday, the 2d of August, their Majesties, with the Princesses, and the Duke of York, passed through this city, on a visit to Dr. Hurd, Bishop of Worcester, at his palace at Hartlebury; and on the 5th, between seven and eight o'clock in the evening, their Majesties arrived at the episcopal palace in this city. As the royal party approached the palace, the college (cathedral) bells were rung with the greatest glee, and in a few minutes all the steeples in town resounded with joyous peals. At half an hour after nine, the whole city was grandly illuminated, many of the houses exhibiting various-coloured lamps, emblematic transparencies with mottos, &c. At ten his Majesty took a view of the illuminations *incog*.

On the 6th, his Majesty, being a very early riser, had surveyed the cathedral and its precincts, and walked to almost every part of the town before seven o'clock. At half after ten, his Majesty had a levee at the palace, when the bishop, attended by the dean, prebendaries, and some of the parochial clergy, addressed the King (with his usual dignity and propriety) in a loyal and dutiful speech; to which his Majesty returned a most gracious answer, delivered with an energy which affected all who heard it. His lordship afterwards addressed the Queen in a short speech. They all had the honour of kissing hands. The corporation of the city, (72 in number,) attired in their proper gowns, and attended by their officers, were next introduced. The Right Hon. the Earl of Coventry, as recorder, was pleased to accompany them, and address the King in a very elegant speech. His Majesty's answer was great and benignant, and is said to have contained this patriotic and generous sentiment—"The loyalty and affection which I have experienced amongst my subjects in this part of the kingdom, and especially on this occasion, are an ample recompence to me for the *public service* of twenty-eight years." The several members of the corporation had the honour of kissing the King's hand: and then a considerable number of the nobility and gentry, chiefly of this

neighbourhood, were introduced, the Earl of Oxford attending as lord in waiting; and the honour of knighthood was conferred on Charles Trubshaw Withers, Esq. a most vigilant and worthy magistrate of the county.

At half past eleven, their Majesties and the Princesses, with their retinue, proceeded from the palace to the cathedral, and were received at the great north entrance by the bishop in his episcopal robes, and the dean and prebendaries in their surplices and hoods, and conducted by them to a magnificent gallery, prepared for their reception, under the great west window. The gallery was spread with a rich Worcester carpet, lined and faced with crimson silk, and shaded with a lofty canopy of the same, terminating in a crown. In a division of the gallery on the right were seated the bishops of Worcester, Gloucester, and Hereford, and the stewards of the meeting; on the left, the dean and prebendaries. In front of the royal gallery, a lower one was prepared for the nobility and persons of distinction; and from the corners of this were extended seats for the mayor, corporation, and their families. The area was benched for the people in general. As soon as their Majesties and the Princesses had taken their places, the music band (consisting of the first vocal and instrumental performers in the kingdom) immediately began the coronation anthem; this was followed by the overture in Esther; after which the Rev. Mr. Clarke, a minor canon of the church, began to chant the service, which comprehended the Dettingen Te Deum, and two anthems. The lessons were read by the Rev. Mr. Fountaine, sub-dean of this cathedral, and chaplain in ordinary to his Majesty; and the sermon preached by the Rev. Dr. Langford, from 2 Kings, iv. 7: "And live thou and thy children of the rest."

On the afternoon of this day, their Majesties and the Princesses, attended by the Countess of Harcourt, the Earls of Harcourt and Oxford, Lord Courtown, Colonels Goldsworthy and Digby, walked to Messrs. Flight and Barr's elegant china shop in High-street, where they remained almost an hour, and greatly admired the beautiful porcelain, manufactured under the direction of those gentlemen, and gave orders for an extensive assortment of it. They then proceeded to the carpet manufactory of Michael and Watkins, in Silver-street, whose productions were likewise honoured with their approbation and orders. (1) The zeal of the populace to see their Sovereign, the Queen, and Princesses, and to express their joy at the

(1) Both of these manufactories have received the royal patronage; an honourable distinction their respective merits have most justly deserved.

royal presence, was so great, that it was almost impossible to secure a free passage for them: on this account the Queen and Princesses remained at the manufactory till a carriage arrived for them ; but the King returned to the palace on foot.

On Thursday, August 7, his Majesty again walked out early to different parts of the town, and in the course of his tour, visited the Rev. Dr. Evans, archdeacon of the diocese, with whom he found the Bishops of Worcester and Gloucester. At half after eleven, the royal party went to the cathedral, with the same state as on the preceding day, to hear a selection of sacred music from the works of Handel. In the evening they drank tea at the Deanry.

Friday, August 8, his Majesty having signified his pleasure to pay a visit to the corporation at the town-hall, the mayor, recorder, aldermen, and common council, in their gowns, attended by their proper officers, band of music, and flags of the city companies, repaired to the palace, and conducted his Majesty in procession (the mayor bearing the sword, and four of the senior aldermen the maces) from thence to the hall. His Majesty first viewed the courts of justice, and the pictures on the ground floor, paying particular attention to the portrait of the present recorder. He then walked up to the assembly-room, which he judiciously stiled a handsome gallery. A table was here spread with fruits, biscuits, wine, &c. His Majesty was pleased to accept a glass of Port, and graciously drank, "Prosperity to the city and corporation of Worcester." On his Majesty's commanding them to ask some mark of his royal favour, the recorder, in the name of the body, requested the picture of a Sovereign who had conferred so distinguished an honour on them ; to which his Majesty most graciously assented. About half after 11, the King, Queen, and Princesses went to the cathedral to hear the oratorio of Messiah, at which near 3000 persons were present : an assembly so numerous and brilliant, at this distance from the metropolis, seemed to strike the royal eye with pleasing surprise. In the evening the royal family went to the college-hall to hear a miscellaneous concert, which concluded the meeting. His Majesty retired from his box under the most exhilarating burst of applause ever heard. This spontaneous impulse of joy was raised to the most sublime effect by the full harmony of that favourite national strain of "God save the King," mingling as a grand chorus with the ardent shouts of loyal gratulation, in which all hearts and voices united, formed a close inde-

scribably impressive and affecting, and truly worthy the august splendour of the scene. The same thunder of applause succeeded the departure of the Queen and Princesses, and was continued as long as they were in sight.

On Saturday morning, Aug. 9, their Majesties, the Princesses, and several of the nobility, went to the china manufactory, and saw the whole process of making china, at which they expressed great satisfaction; and the King was pleased to leave ten guineas for the workmen. At eleven o'clock, the royal family and suit left this city, and returned to Cheltenham.

Their Majesties gave 50*l.* each to be distributed amongst the poor of the city; and the King 200*l.* to the collection for the relief of clergymen's widows and orphans in the three dioceses; and 300*l.* to liberate debtors of a certain description, (1) besides many private donations. His Majesty also ordered, that his pardon should be extended to such criminal prisoners under sentence of transportation, as, from the regularity of their conduct in the gaol, or other favourable circumstances, might (in the judgment of the county magistrates) appear to deserve it. (2)

(1) For an account of the application of the royal bounty to those prisoners, see the Appendix, No. XIII. p. xlviii.

(2) See "a Narrative of the late Royal Visit to Worcester," in the Gentleman's Magazine, for September, 1788, p. 755.

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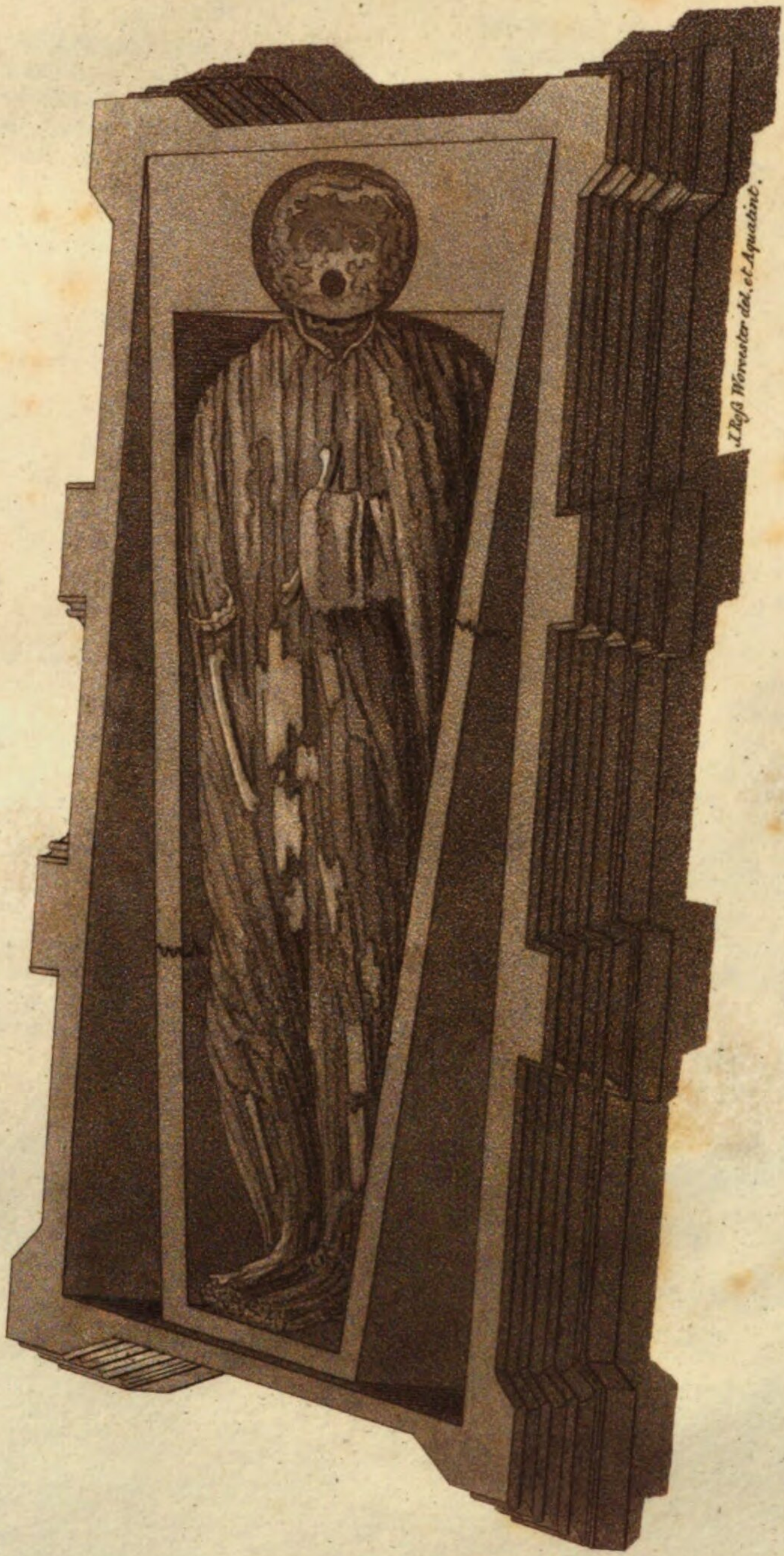
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The body of King John, as it appeared on opening his tomb in Worcester Cathedral, Monday July 17. 1707.

The body 5. 6½ long.

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OF THE
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OF
KING JOHN,

IN THE
CATHEDRAL CHURCH OF WORCESTER,
JULY 17th, 1797,

FROM AUTHENTIC COMMUNICATIONS ; WITH ILLUSTRATIONS AND REMARKS

By VALENTINE GREEN, F. S. A.

AUTHOR OF THE HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES OF THE CITY
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BY THE REV. J. A. C. C.

ATTORNEY AT LAW, NEW YORK CITY

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ACCOUNT
OF THE
DISCOVERY OF THE BODY
OF
KING JOHN.

AMONG the various circumstances which eventually produced the discovery of the body of King John to have been deposited in the tomb in the choir of the cathedral church of Worcester, the following, as the most prominent, are conceived necessary to be stated.

In the course of my researches into the History of that Cathedral, and a minute examination of its fabric and monumental remains, for the purpose of forming a part of my new edition of "the History and Antiquities of the City and Suburbs of Worcester" published in two volumes, quarto, 1796, I was led to adopt the opinions of the most eminent and learned of our antiquaries who appeared to have joined in a conclusion, that although the original interment of King John had taken place in the Lady's chapel of that cathedral between the sepulchres of the Saints Oswald and Wulstan, before the altar of the blessed Virgin, yet that the effigy of the king, at the time of the reformation was removed from his grave, and laid upon the tomb which had been newly erected in the choir to receive it, and that this was done without removing the body, which was conjectured to have been left in its original state of sepulture in the Lady's chapel.

These conclusions deduced from the accounts and authorities of Leland, Abingdon, Dr. Stukely, Brown Willis, Mr. Garbet, Mr. Gough, Dr. Nash, and others, had been opposed by Dr. Thomas, and Mr. Dougharty;* the first affirming the interment of King John to have been in the choir, in the place on which the tomb now stands; and the last that the royal body remained within the tomb. After

* See Vol. I. Sect. IV. p. 68, and Sect. VII. p. 156, Hist. and Antiq. of Worcester.

weighing those opposite opinions with the most scrupulous attention, and proving by actual measurement the assertion of Dr. Thomas "that graves could be made there" to be erroneous;* and that Mr. Dougharty had asserted that which it would seem he had not actually examined; and also that what he advanced was invalidated by another respectable authority, which states from what must have been imagined the result of careful inspection, "that no bones were found in the sepulchre."

Thus warranted by ancient and modern testimony, and strongly fortified by personal investigation; together with a modern altar tomb before me of the precise form and style of embellishment of that of Prince Arthur in the adjacent chapel, and probably the work of the same artists, it was felt that without better proof to the contrary, it would have been a presumption favouring too much of pertinacity, to have asserted that the remains of King John were first deposited there, or that any other sign of him was to be expected out of his grave in the Virgin's chapel, than the effigy of his person cumbent on the cenotaph in the choir.

The principle of those opinions had been adopted by me so early as 1764, and then made public in the first edition of the Survey of Worcester, (see p. 40) and in 1788 personally discussed with the Honourable and Reverend Dr. St. Andrew St. John, late Dean of Worcester, who was induced from what then passed on the subject, to adopt the resolution of opening the tomb to ascertain the fact; but his death which happened previous to the publication of the second edition of the History of Worcester, preventing the intended search, those conjectures, with much auxiliary and concurrent support, were again avowed, and have again been published.

In the present revised and enlarged form those conjectures are now presented, they have fallen under the notice of the Reverend Dr. Arthur Onslow, the present worthy Dean of Worcester, to whom, in a conversation on the general repair of the interior of the cathedral, which his judicious taste had already planned for the improvement and beautifying of it, I again ventured to suggest the opening of the royal tomb; and if, upon examination, no vestige of sepulture should appear, its removal from thence to the Lady's chapel, and there erecting it over the ancient grave in which King John's remains were supposed to lie, would be a measure fully sanctioned by propriety in respect of its appropriate designation, and in which portion of the cathedral it would also prove a befitting and dignifying object. As a measure of expediency, its removal had long been the wish of many,

* This has been confirmed by the late discovery. The stone coffin in which King John's remains are contained is laid *upon*, and not buried *in* or *under* the pavement of the choir. The depth of ground between that flooring and the crowns of the arches of the crypt beneath it, being not more than twelve inches, would not possibly admit of an interment: and the royal tomb stands precisely upon the centre of the arch at the extreme east end of the crypt. See the Plan of the Cathedral, fig. A. Vol. I. Sect. VII. Hist. and Antiq. of Worcester.

thereby to restore the orderly conduct of the devotional services of the church, subjected to much annoyance by the present position of the tomb, especially in the approach to the altar.

The caprices of modern reformation having no share in the projected arrangement, much less the unnecessary and indecent disturbance of royal inhumation: useful accommodation and the attainment of decorous order suitable to the solemn ~~the~~ purposes of the place being the ultimate objects in view, on Monday the 17th of July 1797, the taking down of the tomb of King John was proceeded upon in the following order.

On the removal of the royal effigy, and the stone slab on which it had been laid, and which had been broken in two in some former operation about the tomb, the objects first presented to view within it, were two partition walls of brick, raised to assist in the support of the superincumbent covering and figure of the king, and to take an equal bearing of their weight with the side and end pannels of the tomb. The spaces between those walls, and between them and the ends of the tomb were filled up with the rubbish of bricks and mortar. On taking down the pannel at the head, and one on each side, and clearing out the rubbish, two strong elm boards originally joined by a batten nailed at each end of them, but which had dropped off and left the boards loose, were next discovered, and upon their removal, the stone coffin, of which they had formed the covering, containing the entire remains of King John became visible!

The Dean and Chapter being immediately convened, my friend Mr. James Ross was desired to attend for the purpose of making observations on the object, and to transmit them to me in London: from those remarks so communicated, and more especially from others made by Mr. Sandford, an eminent surgeon of Worcester, obligingly furnished at the same time, together with the annexed plate executed by Mr. Ross, from a drawing taken by him on the spot; the following further particulars are extracted and presented.

THE BODY

was found to have been adjusted in the stone coffin precisely in the same form as the figure on the tomb. The skull, instead of being placed with the face in the usual situation, presented the foramen magnum, the opening through which the spinal marrow passes down the vertebræ, turned upwards. The lower part of the os frontis was so much perished, as to have become nearly of an even surface with the bottoms of the sockets of the eyes. The whole of the upper jaw was

displaced from the skull, and found near the right elbow : it contained four teeth in very good preservation, and free from caries, two of them were dentes molares, and two bicuspides. The lower jaw was also separated from the skull, the coronoid processes were very perfect, as well as the condyles : there were no teeth in this jaw. Some grey hairs were discernable under the covering of the head. The ulna of the left arm which had been folded on the body was found detached from it, and lying obliquely on the breast ; the ulna of the right arm lay nearly in its proper place, but the radius of neither arm, nor the bones of either hand were visible. Those of the ribs, pelvis, &c, were so much covered with dust, and the foldings of the decayed robe as not to be clearly distinguishable. Part of the tibia of the right leg, in nearly its proper position, was exposed. The knee of this limb appeared to have been contracted, not lying so strait down as the left : occasioned probably by other bones or fragments having fallen under it. The bones of the toes were in good preservation, more particularly those of the right foot, on two or three of which the nails were still visible. The rest of the bones, more especially of the lower extremities were nearly perfect, and on the whole, appeared to have lain as they might naturally have done in their quiescent progress through the various stages of decay and dissolution. Some large pieces of mortar were found on and below the abdomen ; and a vast quantity of the dry skins of maggots were dispersed over the body ; these are supposed to have been produced by some part of it having gone into putrefaction (a circumstance imagined sometimes to have happened notwithstanding the precaution of embalming)* previous to its removal, and the maggots having remained undisturbed, were upon the present discovery seen in such great numbers. Or, that some parts of the dress being of leather, they might have been produced by the natural putrefaction of that animal substance. The body measured five feet, six inches and a half.

THE DRESS

in which the body of the king was found appears also to have been similar to that in which his figure is represented on the tomb, excepting the gloves on its hands and the crown on its head, which on the skull in the coffin was found to be the celebrated monk's cowl, in which he is recorded to be buried, as a passport through the regions of purgatory. This sacred envelope appeared to have fitted the head very closely, and had been tied or buckled under the chin by straps, parts of

* The bowels and heart of King John were buried at Croxton Abbey, in Staffordshire ; the Abbat of which had been his Physician, and performed the operation of embalming him. See Holingshed, p. 606. M. Paris, p. 288.

which remained. The body was covered by a robe reaching from the neck nearly to the feet; it had some of its embroidery still remaining near the right knee. It was apparently of crimson damask, and of strong texture: its colour however was so totally discharged from the effect of time, that it is but conjecturally it can be said to have been of any, but what has now pervaded the whole object; namely, a dusky brown. The cuff of the left arm which had been laid on the breast remained. In that hand a sword, in a leather scabbard, had been placed as on the tomb, parts of which much decayed, were found at intervals down the left side of the body, and to the feet, as were also parts of the scabbard, but in a much more perfect state than those of the sword. The legs had on a sort of ornamented covering which was tied round at the ankles, and extended over the feet, where the toes were visible through its decayed parts, the string about the left ankle still remained. The upper part of those coverings could not be traced, and it is undecided whether they should be termed boots, or whether they were a part of the under dress similar to the modern pantaloons. It would have been fortunate had it been determined whether they were of leather, or of what sort of drapery.

THE COFFIN

is of the Higley stone of Worcestershire, white, and chisel-levelled, wholly dissimilar in its kind to either that of the foundation of the tomb, its pannels, covering, or figure of the king. Its shape is best exhibited in the annexed plate. A very considerable fracture runs through it in an oblique direction, one foot six inches from the left shoulder, to two feet nine inches from the right. The coffin is laid upon the pavement of the choir, without being let into it. Its original covering, is that stone out of which the effigy of the king is sculptured, and now lying on the tomb, the shape of which is exactly correspondent with that of the stone coffin, and its extreme dimensions strictly proportionate to its purpose.

MEASURES.

	Feet.	Inches.
Depth of the cavity of the stone coffin in which the body is contained	0	9
Ditto, of the circular part, containing the head	0	6 $\frac{1}{2}$
Ditto, of the outside of the coffin	1	—
Thickness of the sides, ends, and bottom	0	3

	Feet.	Inches.
Length, inside	5	— 7
Extreme length, outside	6	— 1
Breadth at the head	2	— 2
Breadth at the feet	1	— 0
Length of the original cover, or lid of the stone coffin	6	— 4
Breadth at the head	2	— 5
Breadth at the feet	1	— 2*

REMARKS AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

It hath already been said, that the foregoing discovery of the remains of King John, had resulted from the strong assumptions of conjecture, founded on the opinions of former antiquaries of established character, and supported by those of others of the present times; asserting that the original sepulture and interment of the royal body was in the Lady's chapel of this cathedral; nor has the least circumstance from the recent disclosure of it in the tomb in the choir, arisen to invalidate those opinions and conjectures.

To give farther support to the proofs already adduced, that the ancient graves of the canonized saints, Oswald and Wulstan, are in the Lady's chapel, and that the body of the king first received interment between them, would amount only to a waste of words; to point out the similarity of the construction of this ancient series of royal and ecclesiastical sepulchres, may however be somewhat satisfactory to those who have never seen them, or their actual position.

Let then the reader form in his imagination the stone coffin, in which the remains of the king now repose, to be let into the floor of the Lady's chapel, between the figures of the two bishops already laid there, and so deep as to have its top level with the pavement; and let him also suppose the sculptured figure of the King, now lying on the tomb, placed on the coffin as its covering, and which would apparently seem laid on the floor, he will then have the entire ancient sepulchre of King John, as originally constructed in that chapel, fully before his "minds eye."

Those of the two prelates are precisely of the same fashion, laid the same depth in the earth, and in nothing different but the sculptures and the kind of stone of which they are formed.†

* See Hist. and Antiq. of Worcester, Vol. I. Sect. IV, p. 68, Note.

† It is here necessary to observe, that the stone coffins of the two bishops are laid on the sites of the ancient graves of St. Oswald and St. Wulstan; that to the south containing the remains of Bishop Sylvester, who per-

It is presumed from the abundant evidences apparent on the view of the royal body and its appendages, that they have unquestionably undergone a translation since the time of their original interment in this cathedral. The change in the position of the skull, the displacing of the jaws; the loss of the bones of the hands, and the radii of both arms; the mutilations of the sword and its scabbard, and the broken fragments of the mortar upon and below the abdomen; the large fracture, supposed to be entirely through the stone coffin, and lastly, the tomb itself of modern construction, paired indeed, but not matched with the ancient; form together a testimonial phalanx of evidence, much too strong to be resisted with a view to proving that the place in which the body is now found deposited, was that of its first burial. And thus, while a less dignified tenant may have been admitted to the possession of the royal grave, the king himself is proved literally to remain above ground, intombed indeed, but unburied.

In the course of this curious and interesting investigation, we have witnessed a no less curious result.—Speculative opinions, ~~in~~ which the researches into the transactions of past ages, must more or less subject the antiquarian and historian to enter into, having in this instance elevated into an assumed fact, an event of ancient date of which no record had been made in the archives of the cathedral, a reliance on those opinions, and a consequent resort being had to the only practical means of establishing or destroying them, that effectual ordeal is seen in its operation to have secured a valuable recompence to posterity, in the destruction it has wrought on ingenious speculation, founded on specious possibilities, out of the ruins of which hath been raised a positive truth, that has for ever closed the lips of conjecture, and happily placed an ancient fact, beyond the reach of future doubt.

Had the fugitive memorandum made by Mr. Dougharty, dated July the 24th, 1754, and inserted as a MS. note in p. 35, in his copy of Dr. Thomas's Survey of the Cathedral, and now in the possession of Sir Charles Trubshaw Withers, Knight,* been fortunately entered in its proper place, in the Archives of the

formed the ceremony of interring King John in this cathedral, and died himself 16 July, 1219, in the same year he had displaced the remains of St. Wulfstan from his grave, and put them in a new shrine, in which operation he sawed some of his bones in sunder with his own hands. The remains of St. Oswald had been first enshrined by Bishop Adulph his successor, A. D. 1002, and again by Bishop Wulfstan in 1089, at the opening of the present cathedral. The grave of St. Wulfstan to the north, which the author examined in 1796, is occupied by the stone coffin and remains of William de Blois, successor to Bishop Sylvester; he died August the 18th, 1238. See History and Antiquities of Worcester, Vol. I. Section IV. p. 73, 74; Section VII. p. 186, and plan of the Cathedral, Ref. 1, 2, 3. It appears therefore that the three coffins, of the fashion of that period, were all made and placed there in the course of only twenty three years. Other instances of the same mode of interment in the same sort of coffins occur in this cathedral, of which that of William de Harcourt, temp. King John, in the Dean's chapel, is one.

* See History and Antiquities of Worcester, Vol. I. Sect. IV. p. 70.

Dean and Chapter, it would then have borne the indubitable stamp of official authenticity upon the face of it, and could have been cited as such. It is however satisfactory that even in its present form, discovered by mere chance, its veracity hath been fully proved. But the description of the tomb having been opened at that period, being liable to more than a right reading from its ambiguity, and standing isolated from other support, became too suspicious for decided adoption, especially when it was to be opposed to such odds of direct contrary opinion, and thence it hath remained to the present time, like the prophecies of Cassandra, discredited but true.

It is much to be regretted that the impatience of the multitude to view the royal remains, so unexpectedly found, should have become so ungovernable, as to make it necessary to close up the object of their curiosity so precipitantly, as to render it extremely difficult to obtain that regular account of a discovery so truly interesting demanded. Under that disadvantage however, strict and minute truth is attached to each particular of the accounts communicated, with a faithfulness of description that must be approved; and the justice evidently rendered to the graphic representation of the object will amply demonstrate that it had the peculiar good fortune whilst visible, to have fallen under the most judicious and accurate observation.

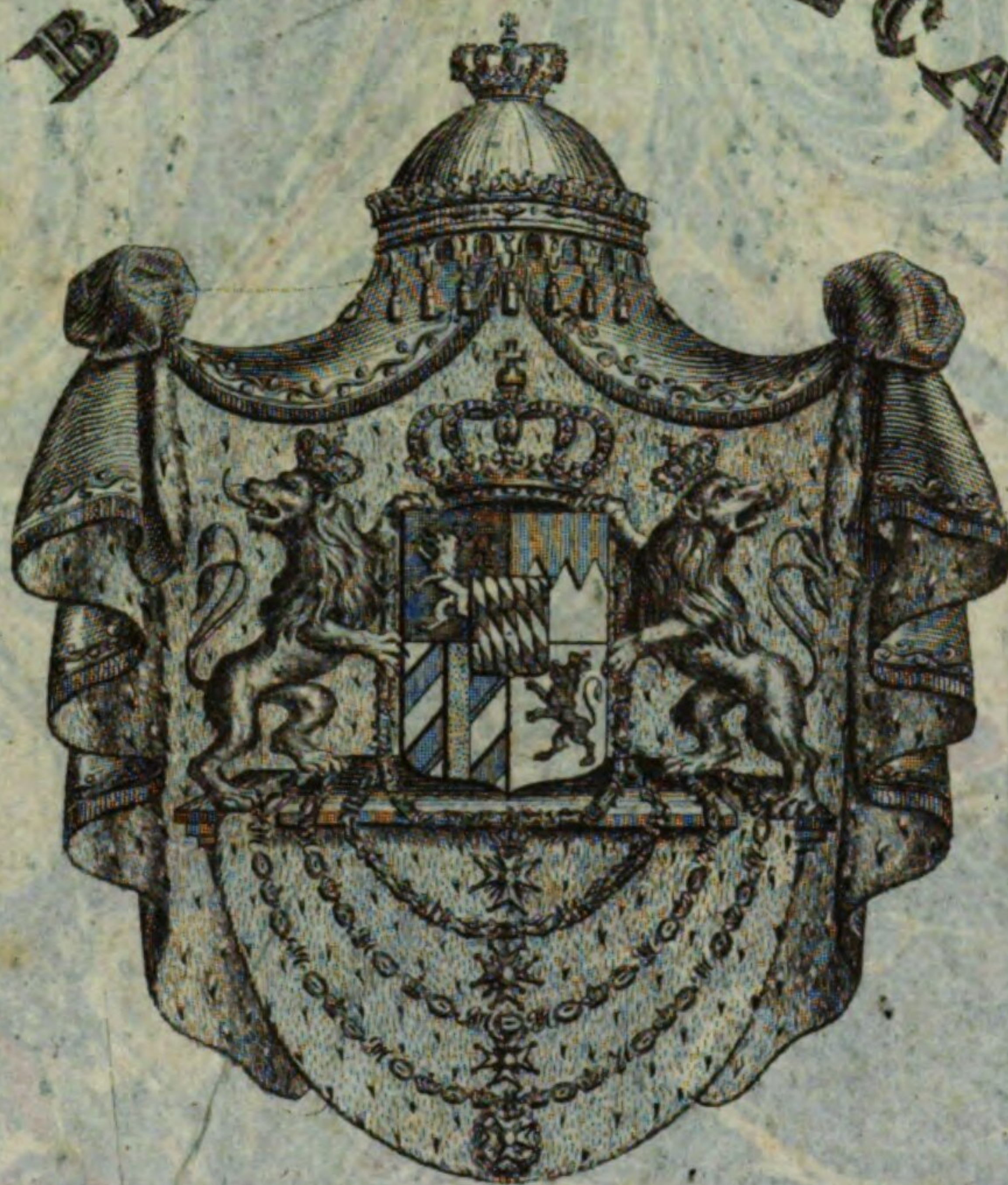
On the evening of Tuesday the 18th of July, the day after it had been taken down, and the royal remains laid open to the view of some thousands of spectators, who crowded to the cathedral to see it, the tomb of King John was completely restored and finally closed.

F I N I S.





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